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A study was conducted in a rural, low-income area of Northern New York State to determine the factors which influenced occupational decisions of farmers in the area. The data, collected by interview in 1963, were based on the responses of 299 individuals who were operating farms in 1949. The study revealed that 81% of the respondents considered a major occupational change in the 12-year period preceding the survey. A large number of the 81% did make the change to either more or less dependency on farming. The most important factor given in deciding to change to non-farm work was financial gain and the economic pressures of supporting a family. The ones who decided to go into full-time farming stated they could make as much or more money in farming. The study concluded that since most of the farmers interviewed changed occupation for financial gain, one of the most powerful value standards in American society appeared to be the obligation each man felt to support himself and his family. (RH)

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FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL DECISIONS IN A LOW-INCOME AREA

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FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL DECISIONS IN A LOW-INCOME AREA

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Summary and Highlights

This is the first report in a series of special studies of human and physical resource use adjustments in a low-income area of Northern New York State. This special report discusses the factors which influence occupational decisions in the study area. The report is based on the responses of 299 individuals who were operating farms in the area in 1949. The data for this study were collected in 1963.

1. Eighty-one percent of the respondents had considered a major occupational change in the twelve year period preceding the survey.
2. The most recent major change considered by most of the respondents was a shift to less dependence on farming for a livelihood. Fifty-five percent of the respondents considered this type of change.
3. Three types of changes to less dependence on farming were considered:
    a. Fifty-four respondents considered a shift from full-time farming to part-time farming. Of these, 95 percent made the proposed change.
    b. Fifty-seven farm operators considered a shift from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm activities. Of this grouping, 91 percent took the proposed step.
    c. Fifty-one farm operators considered the big jump from full-time farming to full-time nonfarm activities. Of this grouping, 53 percent made the proposed change.
4. Fifteen percent of the farm operators in the study considered a move in the direction of increased dependence on farming for a livelihood. Once again, three types of changes were involved:
    a. The largest number, 26, considered a shift from part-time farming to full-time farming. Of these, 100 percent made the proposed change.
    b. Eleven respondents had considered the jump from full-time nonfarm activity to full-time farm activity. Of those who considered this type of move, 82 percent made the change.
    c. Seven households, which had at some time during the period become full-time nonfarm households had considered a shift back into farming on a part-time basis. Of these, all seven made the proposed change.

5. For those farm operators who considered a change to a decreased dependence on farming, the general factors favoring and opposing the change were the following:
    a. Favoring the change
        1. Goals
        2. Force
        3. Support
        4. Opportunity
        5. Value Standards
        6. Ability
        7. Expectations
    b. Opposing the change
        1. Goals
        2. Opportunity
        3. Ability
        4. Expectations
6. For those farm operators who considered a change to an increased dependence on farming, the general factors favoring and opposing the change were the following:
    a. Favoring the change
        1. Goals
        2. Force
        3. Ability
        4. Expectations
        5. Support
    b. Opposing the change
        1. Goals
        2. Opportunity
        3. Ability
7. Most dominant factors favoring and opposing changes when they are present in rank order are:
    a. Favoring the change
        1. Force
        2. Commitment
        3. Expectations
        4. Support
        5. Goals
        6. Opportunity
    b. Opposing the change
        1. Ability
        2. Opportunity
        3. Expectations
        4. Support

8. Major reasons favoring and opposing the shift from full-time farming to part-time farming.

Reasons favoring the shift in rank order:

1. Financial gain
2. Had to make more money somehow, somewhere
3. Other family members able and willing to help with the farm work
4. Had a job opportunity
5. Wife and family expected the change
6. Had the skills and abilities for the second job.

Reasons opposing the shift:

1. I would have to neglect the farm
2. Like farming and the associated way of life
3. Could have remained in full-time farming
4. Would be working longer, harder hours

9. Major reasons favoring and opposing shift from full-time farming to full-time nonfarm activities.

Reasons favoring the shift:

1. Financial gain
2. Poor health forced the change
3. Economic security from nonfarm job
4. Farm income was too small
5. Not enough family help to keep the farm going
6. Easier hours and more free time in nonfarm work
7. Lacked the size and resources to stay in farming
8. Family members expected the change.

Reasons opposing the shift:

1. Like farming and the associated way of life
2. Farming is a more independent way of life
3. Could have remained in farming
4. Family and friends expected me to stay with farming
5. Would lose the security of farming.

10. Major reasons favoring and opposing the shift from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm activity.

Reasons favoring the change:

1. Financial gain
2. Farm only providing a small income
3. Unable to do two jobs
4. Farm too small and lacked resources
5. Poor health
6. Loss of family help
7. Force of circumstances
8. Unable to get help
9. More free time and easier hours
10. Opportunity of a job
11. Family and friends expected and encouraged change.

Reasons opposed to the change:

1. Like farming
2. Would have to take a loss in my investments
3. Would lose produce for the family
4. Would mean a decrease of income
5. Loved cows and liked to work with them.

11. Major reasons favoring and opposing the change to decreased dependence on farming for persons who considered but did not make the change.

Reasons favoring the change:

1. Financial gain
2. More free time, easier hours
3. Full-time farming is too hard for my health
4. Lack resources for full-time farming
5. Family and friends encouraged the change
6. Unable to obtain help for the farm
7. Health was poor.

Reasons opposed to the change:

1. Farming is the only thing I know
2. Unable to get other work
3. Like farming and the associated way of life
4. Would be taking a loss on my life's investment
5. Family and friends expected me to stay with farming
6. The change would be financially risky
7. Opportunity to remain in farming.

12. Major reasons favoring and opposing a major increase in dependence on farming for individuals who made the change.

    Reasons favoring the change:

    1. Could make as much or more farming
    2. Like farming
    3. Would provide greater security
    4. Nonfarm job terminated
    5. Had the opportunity to obtain a farm
    6. Already had the farm
    7. Would gain free time and fewer hours
    8. Family encouraged and wanted me to change
    9. Was working too many hours on two jobs
    10. Health, age, circumstances forced the change
    11. Family expected me to make the change.

    Reasons opposed to the change:

    1. Liked my nonfarm job
    2. Loss of income
    3. Could have kept my nonfarm job.

13. The illustrative cases reveal the following:

    1. Occupational decisions are usually based on a small cluster of relevant reasons or components.
    2. Each component has direction and loading.
    3. After an occupational decision has been made, the decision maker will readjust his relevant cluster of cognitions to bring it more in line with whatever action is taken. These data lend support to the theory of consistency. They also point out a built-in error in data which is obtained about any action after the action has occurred.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

A Framework for Understanding Occupational Change

Purpose

This study was designed to determine the factors which enter into major occupational decisions in an economically declining area. It is one part of a larger study of physical and human resource adjustments in St. Lawrence County, New York. The total sample consists of 320 persons who comprise a representative cross section of farm operators who were farming in St. Lawrence County in 1950 and who were under 55 years of age at that time. (See Appendix A for characteristics of the sample.)

Methodology

The larger study documents various adjustments made by the sample of 1950 farm operators for the years 1950-1962. This special study on factors which influence occupational decisions focuses on a single major occupational decision and attempts to delve deeply into the factors which entered into that particular decision. To use a decision as recent as possible to facilitate recall, the most recent major occupational decision was designated as the one to be studied. From the occupational history covering the 12 year period, the interviewer selected what he considered to be the last major occupational decision. Once the decision to be considered was identified and recorded, two methods were used to determine what factors entered into the decision.[1] The first was an open-end question designed to draw out all the factors which the respondent could recall both favoring and opposing the action. The second consisted of a series of probing questions designed to determine if certain factors were present and when present to determine what specific components were involved. (See Appendix B.) The reasons derived from the open-end questions were designated by a capital letter, whereas additional reasons derived from the probing questions were designated by small letters so the factors derived from each source could be determined for future analysis.

---

[1] The emphasis was on the factors which entered into the final decision at the time the decision was being made.

The factors used in the probing questions were drawn from a theory of social action derived from other studies.[2] It was hypothesized that an occupational decision is a type of social action and that the factors which direct occupational decisions should come from the same array of factors which direct social action in general. Ten factors which have been identified as directive factors in social action were utilized, namely: goals, belief orientations, value standards, expectations, commitments, force, habits, opportunities, ability and support.

After the specific reasons which were reported were recorded for both the open-end questions and also from the probing questions, each respondent was asked to select the factor having the greatest influence and give it a weight of 10, then to rate the other reasons in comparison to it with scores from 10 to 0. For the factors which were designated as having some influence in the decision in the probing questions, the respondent was asked to rate the amount of influence as little, some, or much. The latter were weighted one, two and three.

Of the 320 respondents in the sample, 299 or 94 percent answered the open-end part of the question asking for reasons favoring and opposing a proposed occupational change. A slightly larger proportion, 97 percent answered some or all of the probing questions which followed the open-end responses. Of the 299 who answered the question asking for reasons, 57 or 19 percent indicated they had not been confronted with a major decision involving change of occupation during the 12 years being studied. These 57 were given a hypothetical situation to respond to but these hypothetical answers are not included in this report. Only actual occupational decisions are reported. For those who had considered a major change in the past 12 years, the most frequently mentioned change was a move to decrease the families' dependence on farming. There were 163 or 54 percent who considered a move in this direction. Forty-four or 15 percent considered a move in the direction of an increased dependence on farming for a livelihood. Twelve persons or 4 percent considered the shift from farming to retirement. Another 4 percent considered a move from one type of full-time farming to another. An additional 4 percent could not be classified into any of these categories. Since the other categories are too small for separate analysis, the remainder of the report will focus primarily on categories containing farm operators who considered decreasing or increasing their dependence on farming. The total number for the remainder of the report is 207 of which 163 considered a change to less dependence on farming, whereas 44 considered an increased dependence on farming.

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[2] See pages 4 - 12 for further explanation.

Types of Changes Considered

Of the 163 who considered a decreased dependence in farming, 34 percent considered taking the step from full-time farming to part-time farming, another 35 percent considered taking the step from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm employment. The remaining 31 percent considered the big jump from full-time farming to full-time nonfarming. Of the 44 who considered an increased dependence on farming, 26 or 59 percent considered the step from part-time farming to full-time farming, 7 or 16 percent considered the step from full-time nonfarm employment to part-time farming and 11 or 25 percent considered the jump from full-time nonfarm employment to full-time farming. It should be noted that the full-time nonfarmers who considered going into farming on a part-time or full-time basis were not entering farming for the first time, rather, they were returning to farming as they were all farm operators in 1950 but some had subsequently left farming to engage in nonfarming occupations.

Type of Action Taken

The data suggest that it is much easier to change one's occupation stepwise, then to take a big jump. Of the 55 who considered the step from full-time farming to part-time farming, 95 percent report having made the change. Of the 57 who considered the step from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm employment, 91 percent report having made the change. In contrast of the 51 who considered the jump from full-time farming to full-time nonfarm employment, only 53 percent indicate having made the proposed change. The contrast is not so great, but in the same direction for those returning to farming. Of the 26 who considered the step from full-time nonfarm work to part-time farming, 100 percent indicate they made the proposed change. Of the 11 who considered the return from full-time nonfarm work to full-time farming, nine or 82 percent report having made the proposed change.

Directive Factors in Occupational Decisions

The theory of social action behind this inquiry into factors which direct social action, was first derived from a series of research studies on directive factors in social participation. In developing a theoretical formulation which would meaningfully explain several different types of social participation, it became apparent that what had emerged was not just a theory of social participation, but could be applied to any social action. The theory has been presented in four papers at different stages of its development. (Reeder, 1962, 1963A, 1963B, 1964.)

The 1963B paper presents the theory approximately as it was formulated at the time this study was designed. A few excerpts from that paper will present the main propositions which were the basis of this special study.

The 1963B statement of the theory included three main propositions and several second order propositions. The three main propositions were as follows:

A Framework for Understanding Social Action

Proposition A

From the data which an actor has about a referent[1] or a situation and its subparts, he strives to understand the meanings which are important to him. The meanings which he derives and the evidence which he sees as supporting them become his cognitions[1] about the referent or about the situation and its subparts. Thus, what each actor possesses regarding any referent or any situation is a number of cognitions about it and about himself in relation to it. (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962.)

Proposition B

Every social action (belief, sentiment, hypothetical action, or gross behavioral response) is founded on a small cluster of relevant cognitions. (Brower 1961, Festinger 1957, Heider 1958, Reeder 1962.)

Proposition C

A social actor[1] will select patterns of action which are consistent with his cluster of relevant cognitions. (Brower 1961, Campbell 1963, Heckert 1964, Heider 1958, Festinger 1957, Reeder 1964, Osgood and Tannenbaum 1955.)

Graphically these three propositions can be presented as follows:

A		B		C
Data regarding a referent or the situation and its subparts	–	The relevant cluster of cognitions	–	Social Action

From the array of possible responses which are available to him in his society, the actor will tend to select those responses which will be most consistent with his relevant cluster of data, his relevant cluster of cognitions, and his relevant cluster of social actions.

Every actor has a basic need to feel that his response to any given referent is right, that is, logically consistent. As a result of this basic need, a feeling that his response is inconsistent, "wrong," gives rise to a normatively prescribed psychological discomfort. To minimize the discomfort and maximize his psychological comfort the actor will act in the direction of increasing the consistency among his three relevant clusters, and of increasing the consistency between each of the relevant clusters and the pattern of action which he selects. Figure 1 (Reeder 1964)

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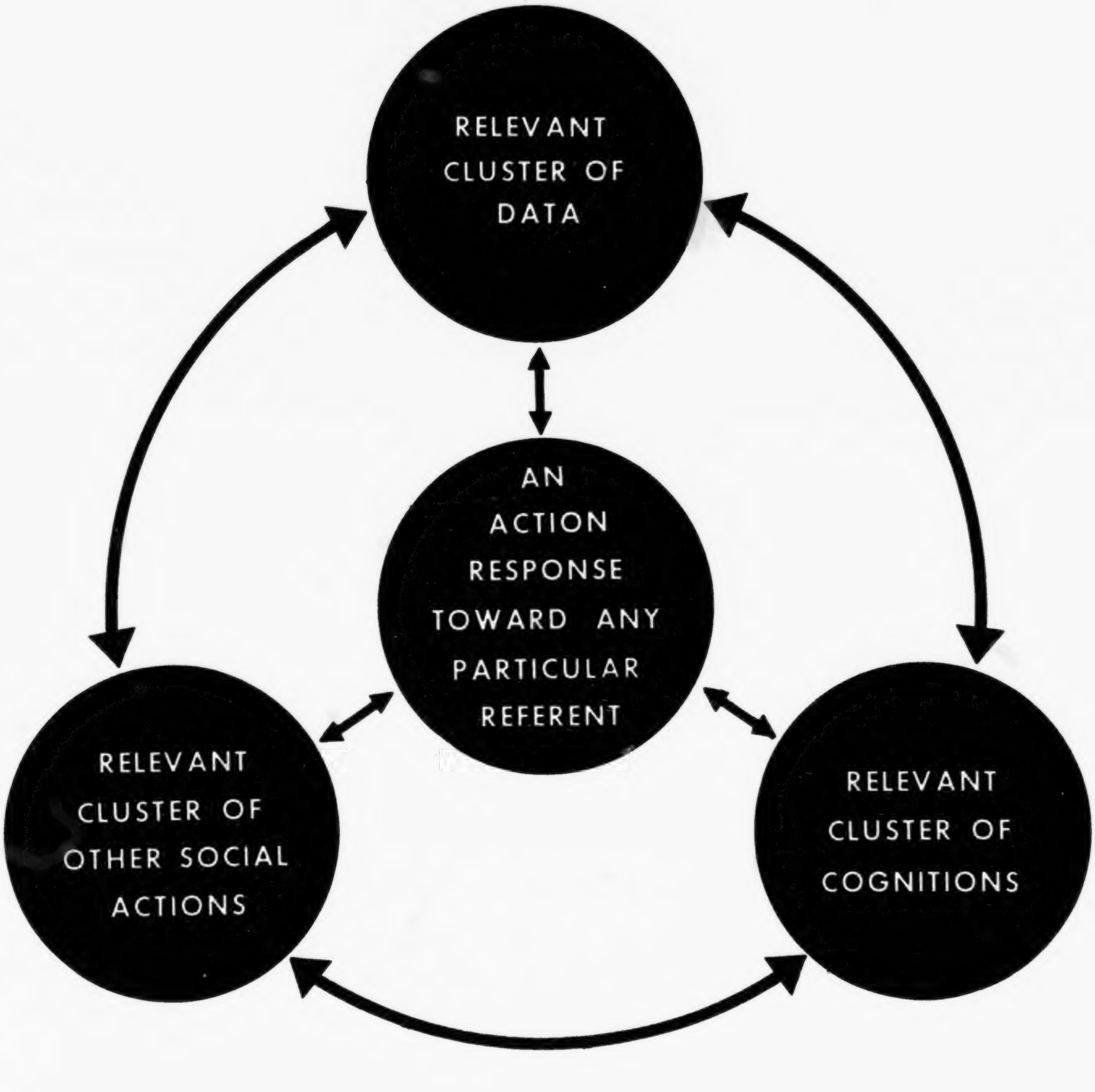
[1] See Appendix C for selected definitions.

Figure 1. AN ACTOR'S CHOICE OF SOCIAL ACTIONS


RELEVANT CLUSTER OF DATA
AN ACTION RESPONSE TOWARD ANY PARTICULAR REFERENT
RELEVANT CLUSTER OF OTHER SOCIAL ACTIONS
RELEVANT CLUSTER OF COGNITIONS

The Relevant Cluster of Cognitions

The relevant cluster of cognitions is central in understanding social action. We have already noted in the propositions that this cluster is the foundation of social action and that the actor chooses forms of social expression consistent with it.

Proposition B-I

The components which comprise a cluster can be drawn from one or several of ten general factors.[1] These ten different categories of cognitions of social actors which are designated as factors are: "B" belief orientations, "G" goals, "V" value standards, "E" expectations, "SC" self-commitments, "F" force, "H" habit, "O" opportunity, "A" ability, and "S" support. The components in the cluster are cumulative in their effect, thus the formula can be written as follows: (Brower 1961, Fahs 1960, Lippitt, Watson and Westley 1958, Loomis 1960, Parsons 1961, Reeder 1962.)

Social Action (S.A.) = B + G + V + E + SC + F + H + O + A + S

Second Order Propositions

From Proposition C and Proposition B-I, the following ten propositions can be stated regarding the ten factors or categories of cognitions.

B-I - I Basic Belief Orientations[1]

Individuals and groups tend to select modes of action which are compatible and consistent with their basic belief orientations. (Bradfield 1957, Heckert 1964, Festinger 1957, Guttman 1959, Heider 1958, Loomis 1960, Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957, Rokeach 1960.)

B-I - II Goals[1]

Individuals and groups tend to promote, protect and maintain their goals. (Fahs 1960, Heider 1958, Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962, Loomis 1960, Maslow 1954.)

B-I - III Value Standards[1]

Individuals and groups tend to act in a manner which is consistent with their value standards. (Bradfield 1957, Brower 1961, Heider 1958, Reeder 1963, Williams 1960.)

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[1] See Appendix C for definitions.

B-I - IV Expectations[1]

Individuals and groups tend to behave the way they feel they are expected to behave in a situation. They tend also to act toward others in terms of their expectations of them. (Heider 1958, Lippitt, Watson and Westley 1958, Loomis 1960, Parsons 1961, Reeder 1962, Williams 1960.)

B-I - V Self-Commitment[1]

Individuals and groups tend to do those things which they feel they have committed themselves to do. (Lippitt, Watson and Westley 1958, Reeder 1962, 1963A and B.)

B-I - VI Force[1]

Individuals and groups do those things which they feel they are forced to do. (Reeder 1963A and B.)

B-I - VII Habit and Custom[1]

Individuals and groups do those things which they are in the habit of doing in situations which are not currently a matter of conscious scrutiny and rational choice. (Reeder 1963A and B.)

B-I - VIII Opportunity[1]

Individuals and groups tend to participate in a particular form of social action in relation to the number and kind of opportunities which the social structure provides to participate in that activity as they perceive it. (Heider 1958, Parsons 1961, Reeder 1962, 1963A & B.)

B-I - IX Ability[1]

Individuals and groups will tend to participate in a particular activity when they perceive themselves as able to do what the situation requires. (Heider 1958, Langbacka 1961, Likert 1961, Lippitt, Watson and Westley 1958, Loomis 1960.)

B-I - X Support[1]

Individuals and groups tend to act when they feel they have sufficient support to do so. (Fahs 1960, Festinger 1957, Heider 1958, Likert 1961, Lippitt, Watson and Westley 1958, Parsons 1961, Reeder 1962, 1963A and B.)

For simplicity of presentation, the above statements are presented in the positive. It should be noted, however, that they all can be negative as well as positive.

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[1] See Appendix C for definitions.

The following propositions present further information on the nature of the relevant cluster of components. Figure 2.

Proposition B - II

The cognitions (components) of any given cluster are selected by the actor on the basis of their perceived relevance to the referent which is under consideration. (Brower 1961, Festinger 1957, Heider 1958, Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962, Monahan 1960.)

Proposition B - III

Each component in the cluster has direction and loading. (Brower 1961, Festinger 1957, Guttman 1959, Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957, Reeder 1963A and B.)

Proposition B - IV

The direction and intensity of a social action is determined by the independent and cumulative influence of the components in the cluster. (Brower 1961, Fahs 1960, Festinger 1957, Guttman 1959, Heider 1958, Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957.)

Proposition B - V

At any given time, a component will have the same direction and loading in any cluster in which it is a relevant part. (Brower 1961, Reeder 1963A and B.)

Proposition B - VI

The dominance of a component in a cluster will depend on its relative loading as compared with the other relevant components in the cluster. A cluster is likely to be identified by the component which is most dominant. (Reeder 1963A and B.)

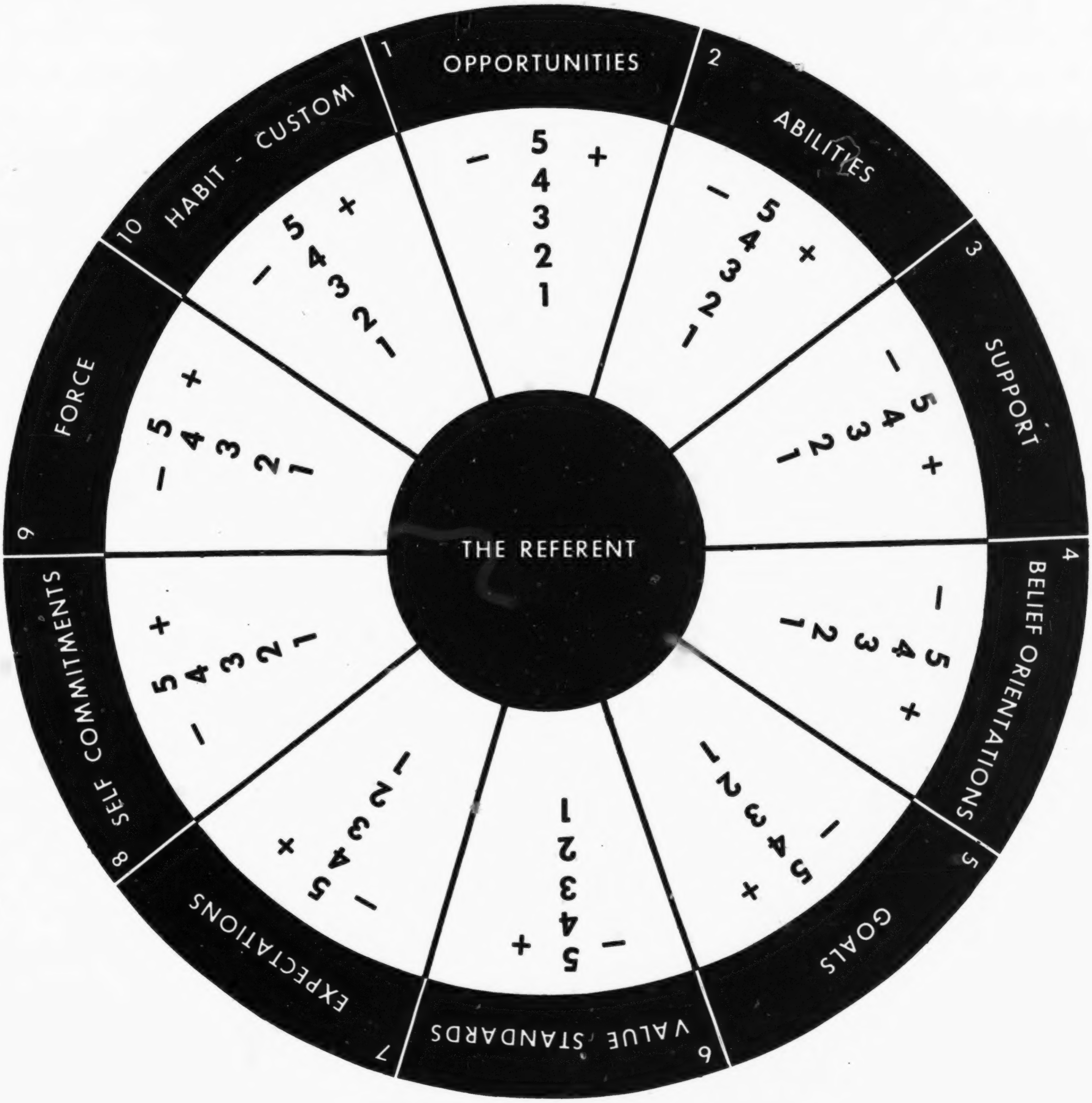
Proposition B - VII

A cluster of relevant components may include one or several components of some factors and none from other factors. (Brower 1961, Guttman 1959, Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962.)

Proposition B - VIII

There are no components or factors which are necessary and therefore indispensable with the one exception of belief orientations. Goals for example, do not have a relevant component in every cluster. (Reeder 1963A and B, 1964.)

CHART FOR DETERMINING RELEVANT CLUSTERS OF COMPONENTS


THE REFERENT
1 OPPORTUNITIES
2 ABILITIES
3 SUPPORT
4 BELIEF ORIENTATIONS
5 GOALS
6 VALUE STANDARDS
7 EXPECTATIONS
8 SELF COMMITMENTS
9 FORCE
10 HABIT - CUSTOM
− 5 4 3 2 1 +

Proposition B - IX

Components of the different factors are interchangeable as directive influences in social action. (Fahs 1960, Reeder 1963A and B, 1964.)

Proposition B - X

In a situation where many components are potentially relevant, only a few of the most relevant will be selected by the actor for the relevant cluster of components.

Proposition B - XI

Many components which are relevant will not be consciously considered by the actor because he has them and takes them for granted. Were they absent, they would not thus be taken for granted. Hence, they operate as relevant components implicitly but not explicitly. They are latent rather than manifest.

Proposition B - XII

Every cluster of components may be viewed at two levels. First as an organized gestalt which can be responded to as a single referent and second as a cluster of components, each of which can be responded to as a separate referent. (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962, Reeder 1963A and B, 1964.)

Proposition B - XIII

Each component making up any given cluster can also be viewed as an organized gestalt with a relevant cluster of components of its own. (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962, Reeder 1963A, 1963B.)

Proposition B - XIV

A particular component may be relevant to, and part of, many different clusters and therefore may be described as general. On the other hand, a component tends not to show up in clusters in which it would not logically be relevant. On this basis, components can be described as highly specific. (Monahan 1960.)

Proposition B - XV

The meanings of key words and phrases of verbal and written communiques become components in social action resulting from the communique. There are additional meanings to which the total communique will give rise which are not a part of key words or phrases considered separately. Most of these latter meanings could be determined by judges from within the society. (Brower 1961, Campbell 1963, Guttman 1959, Triandis and Fishbein 1963.)

In designing this special study, it was hypothesized that the components which operate as directive factors in an occupational decision would come from the ten factors indicated in proposition B-I page 7, that they would have direction and weight or loading as indicated in proposition B-V, that there might be some factors for which there would be no relevant components as indicated in proposition B-VII, that the number of relevant components would be relatively small as indicated in proposition B-X and that the influence of the components would be cumulative as indicated in proposition B-I.

The Climate for Occupational Change in St. Lawrence County

To change one's occupation is no small matter. Through time, the holders of any occupation tend to build around their chosen field a set of beliefs, rationalizations and explanations which present it as important, desirable, as making a significant contribution to the welfare of the general society, and as providing many direct and desired benefits for those who engage in it. This set of belief orientations is generally accepted by those within the occupation. It helps each of them to enhance his own feelings of personal worth and satisfaction. While this occurs for all occupations, we are probably more aware of it in relation to farming than for most others. Farming as an occupation has been a symbol of the good life. The family farm is perceived by many as a basic cornerstone of American society. (Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development, 1963.)

In addition to his beliefs, goals and values which wed a man to his occupation, he also develops a great mass of knowledge and skills related to his occupation. Within his occupation, he is a man of much knowledge, ability and accumulated wisdom who can perform with confidence and security. Placed outside of the arena of his experience, he feels like an incompetent novice. These are all strong forces which bind a man to his occupation.

Running counter to these forces which bind the farmer to his occupation are all the forces which have been set loose by the agricultural revolution. Within a brief span in American history, the percentage of the population engaged in farming has decreased from more than 85 percent to less than 10 percent. This shift out of farming has been going on for many years. Part of this shift has been an intergenerational shift; sons simply chose other occupations. A large portion of it, however, has come about because men, who were already established in farming, have given up farming as an occupation and have gone into some other occupation. What we are observing in St. Lawrence County is part of this revolutionary shift. In the years since 1949, the St. Lawrence County farmer has increased the size of his operation and worked harder to receive just about the same number of dollars which he received in 1949. But those dollars wouldn't buy nearly as much as they did in 1949, so he has been faced with a steadily decreasing real income.

Like many other counties in the country, St. Lawrence has been heavily dependent on its agricultural industry. The St. Lawrence Seaway Project opened new opportunities for a brief time in 1956 and 1957, and the expanded aluminum industry in the area provided new opportunities in the late 1950's until automation in the industry cut the employees needed by two-thirds. Thus, St. Lawrence County has experienced two brief periods of expansion and contraction of employment opportunities. It is against this backdrop that we observe occupational adjustments in St. Lawrence County.

With the theoretical framework and this outline of the situation in mind, let us now take a look at the data on the factors influencing the last major occupational change, which was considered by the farm households in our sample.

PART II

General Factors Considered in Decisions to Decrease and to Increase Dependence on Farming

In this section of the report, both the decisions and the factors influencing those decisions are presented at a high level of abstraction and generality. While such a general presentation loses much in detail, it also gains much in presenting an overview of the big picture. The two sections which follow are designed to provide the detail which this presentation omits.

Two types of decisions will be considered: first, the decision to decrease or not to decrease the degree of the family's dependence on farming as a source of income, and second, the decision to increase or not to increase the degree of the family's dependence on farming as a source of income. There are two sets of answers for each question which supplement and reinforce each other. The specific reasons for and against the proposed decision which were given by the respondent were analyzed and placed under those headings where they best fit in the judgment of the research analyst. Thus, in this case, the judgment of the analysts entered into the categorization. For the second set of answers, the respondent considered and evaluated each factor separately. The respondent decided whether that factor was influential in the decision or not, and he also decided how much weight each factor had carried in the final decision. In this case, all of the choices were made by the respondent. The judgment of the analyst did not enter into any of the choices which were made in the second set of data.

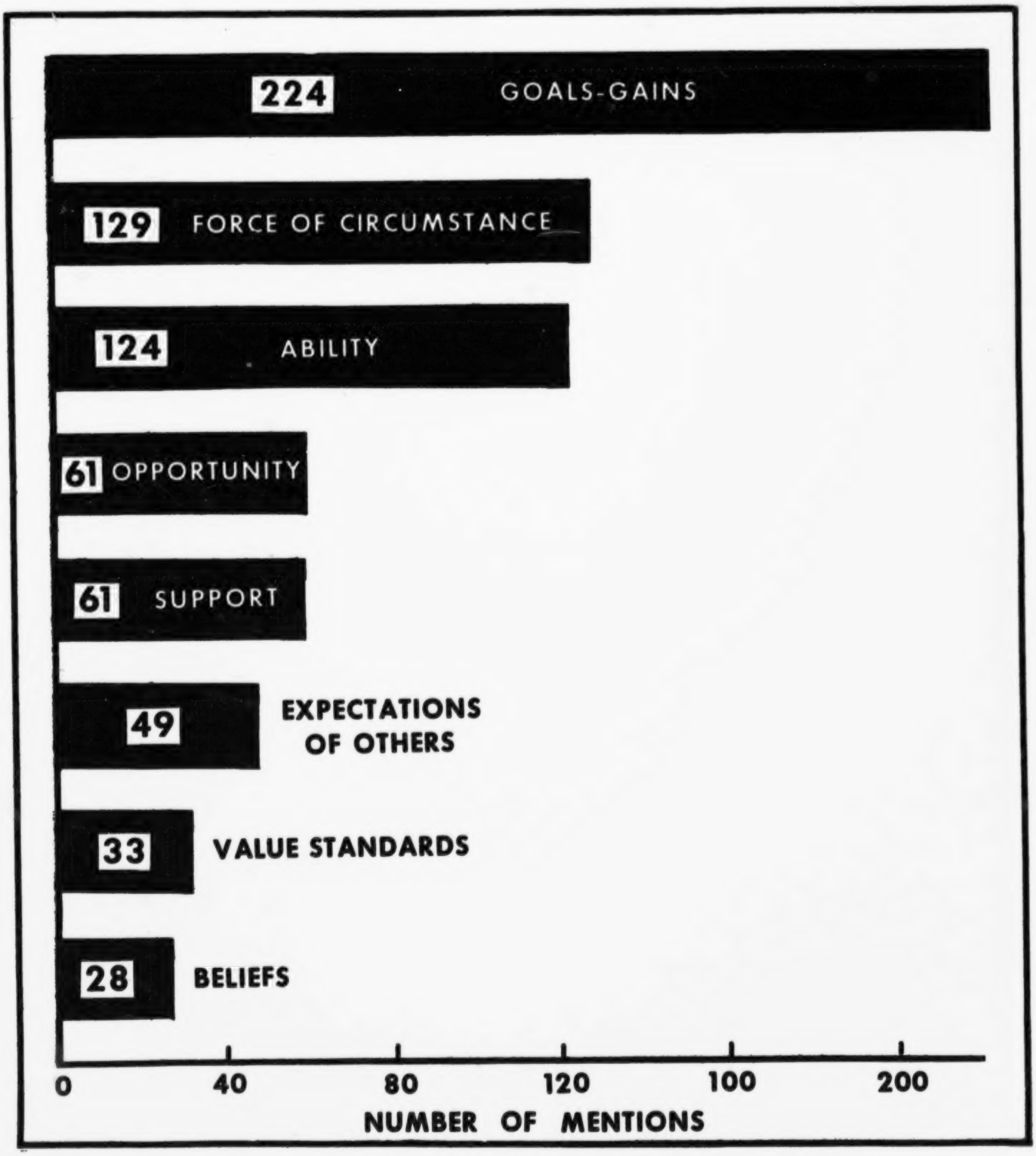
The Decision to Decrease or Not to Decrease the Family's Dependence on Farming as a Source of Income

From the analysis and categorization of all the reasons respondents gave which they reported they took into account in the decision to decrease or not to decrease their dependence on farming; the data indicate that goals, force of circumstances, ability, opportunity, support and expectation of others are the factors which are mentioned most often as influencing the decision. Figure 3.

When asked to consider and evaluate each factor separately, the factors which were identified most frequently as influencing the decision

Figure 3.

Factors considered in the final decision which favored a decreased dependence of the family on farming. (Based on the open-end answers of 163 respondents.)



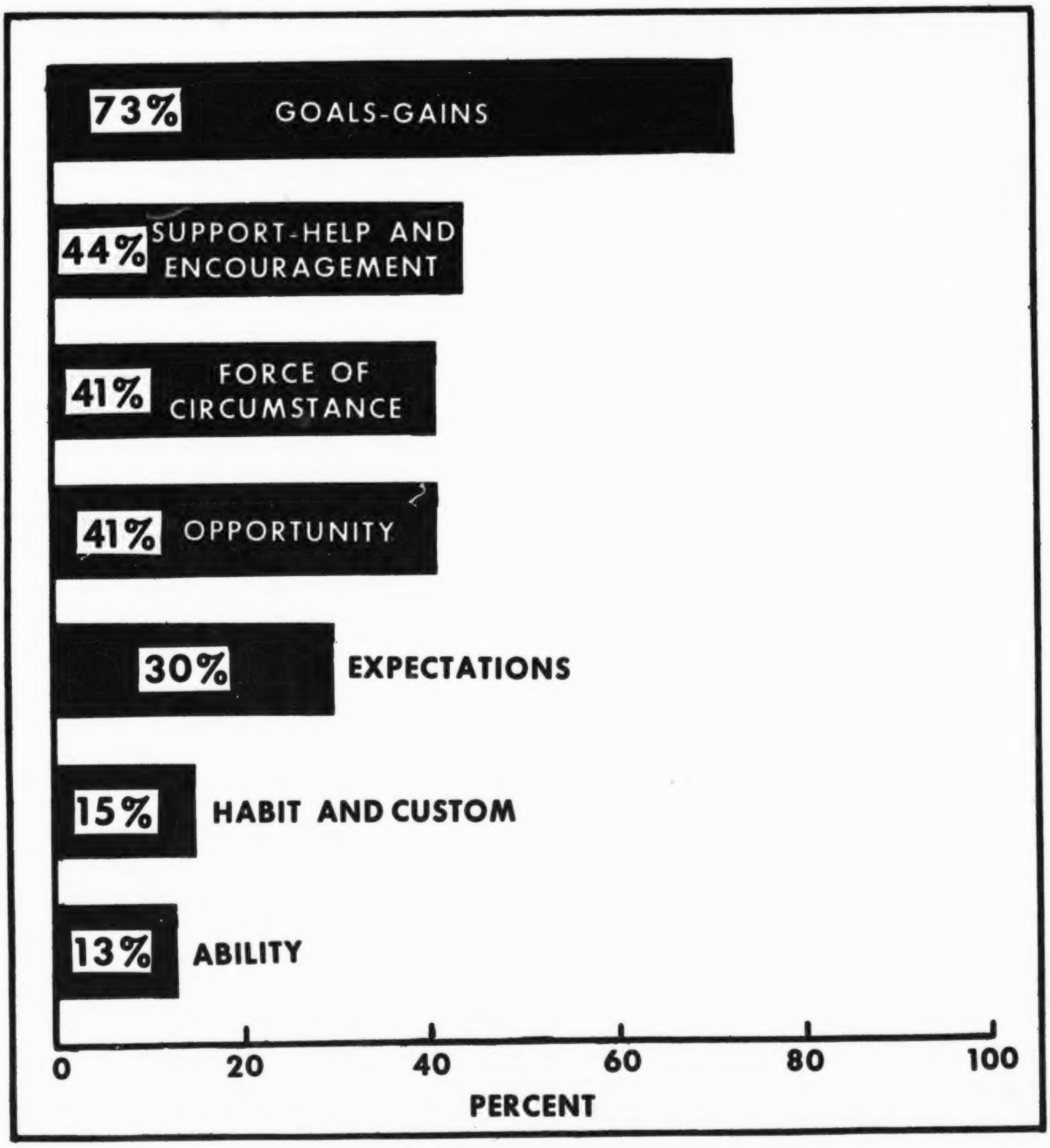
in favor of decreased dependence on farming were: goals, support, force, opportunity and expectations. Figure 4. From a comparison of the two lists, it is evident that the two lists reinforce each other in identifying goals, force, opportunity, support and expectations. The analysts identify ability factors among the reasons given to a much greater extent than they are selected by the respondent. Similarly, value standards were identified by the analysts from the list of reasons, while the respondents selected values so seldom, when asked if value standards were an influence, that the interviewers quit asking the question after two weeks in the field in the interest of time. Conversely, support factors were frequently omitted when listing reasons, but were in second place when the response was obtained by the direct question about support.

It would appear that both support and value standards are taken for granted. They differ, however, in that support and encouragement is recognized as an influence once it is mentioned. On the other hand, respondents are largely unaware of the value standards which operate in their lives in relation to occupational decisions even when value standards are mentioned as a specific factor.

It should be noted that the frequency of mention tends to identify some factors which are important in occupational decisions, and which should be taken into account. The fact that a factor is mentioned often does not indicate the amount of weight which it will carry in the decision. The fact that a factor is not mentioned, indicates that the respondent is not consciously aware of it. However, a factor can be operating on a very extensive basis without the respondent being consciously aware of it at all. There is considerable evidence in the study to indicate that the strong American value standard, that a family head should fulfill his provider role obligations and support himself and his family, is implicit in many of the statements and reasons given for most of the households, but it is seldom singled out as a factor for separate mention.

Figure 4.

Factors favoring a decreased dependence of the family on farming which carried some weight in the final decision. (Based on the answers of the 163 respondents to probing questions regarding each factor.)



Factors Which Oppose Decreasing the Family's Dependence on Farming as a Source of Income

It automatically follows that if a family decreases its dependence on farming as a source of income, that it must increase its dependence on some other source of income. Under the pressure of the long decline in farm income, it is not surprising that many farmers have seriously considered other alternatives. In view of the general conditions in the area, it is likewise not surprising that opportunity rivals goals for the most mentions on one list, and heads the list in which the factors are weighted separately in comparison with each other. Figures 5 and 6. The losses which might be incurred, place next. Ability would probably place third as a factor opposing a shift of dependence on farming to something else. The frequency with which habit and custom are mentioned, indicates the awareness that the proposed shift will involve a change in one's style of life, but the fact that it rates low when questions were asked about it specifically indicates that farm families are aware of it, but that it probably doesn't carry much weight in the final decision. In the main, the two lists supplement each other and identify opportunity, goals - loss, ability, and habit and custom as factors which should be viewed as barriers to a decreased dependence on farming as a source of family income.

The Decision to Increase or Not to Increase Dependence on Farming

As would be expected in an agricultural county facing declining farm incomes and feeling the impact of the agricultural revolution, the number of families that seriously considered an increased dependence on farming is far fewer than the number that considered a decreased dependence on farming. The data in this section are based on the answers of 44 respondents.

Factors Favoring an Increased Dependence on Farming

What are the factors in the situation in St. Lawrence County, which would incline a family to seriously consider increasing their dependence on farming? The data from the analyses of the reasons given indicate that two factors are mentioned much more frequently than any others. These two are goals and force. Figure 7. Ability, expectations, support, beliefs, values and opportunity follow and are fairly close together. Though the number of mentions is small for each, they are

Figure 5.

Factors opposing a decrease in the dependence of the family on farming or a source income. (Based on an analysis of the specific reasons which were given by 163 respondents.)

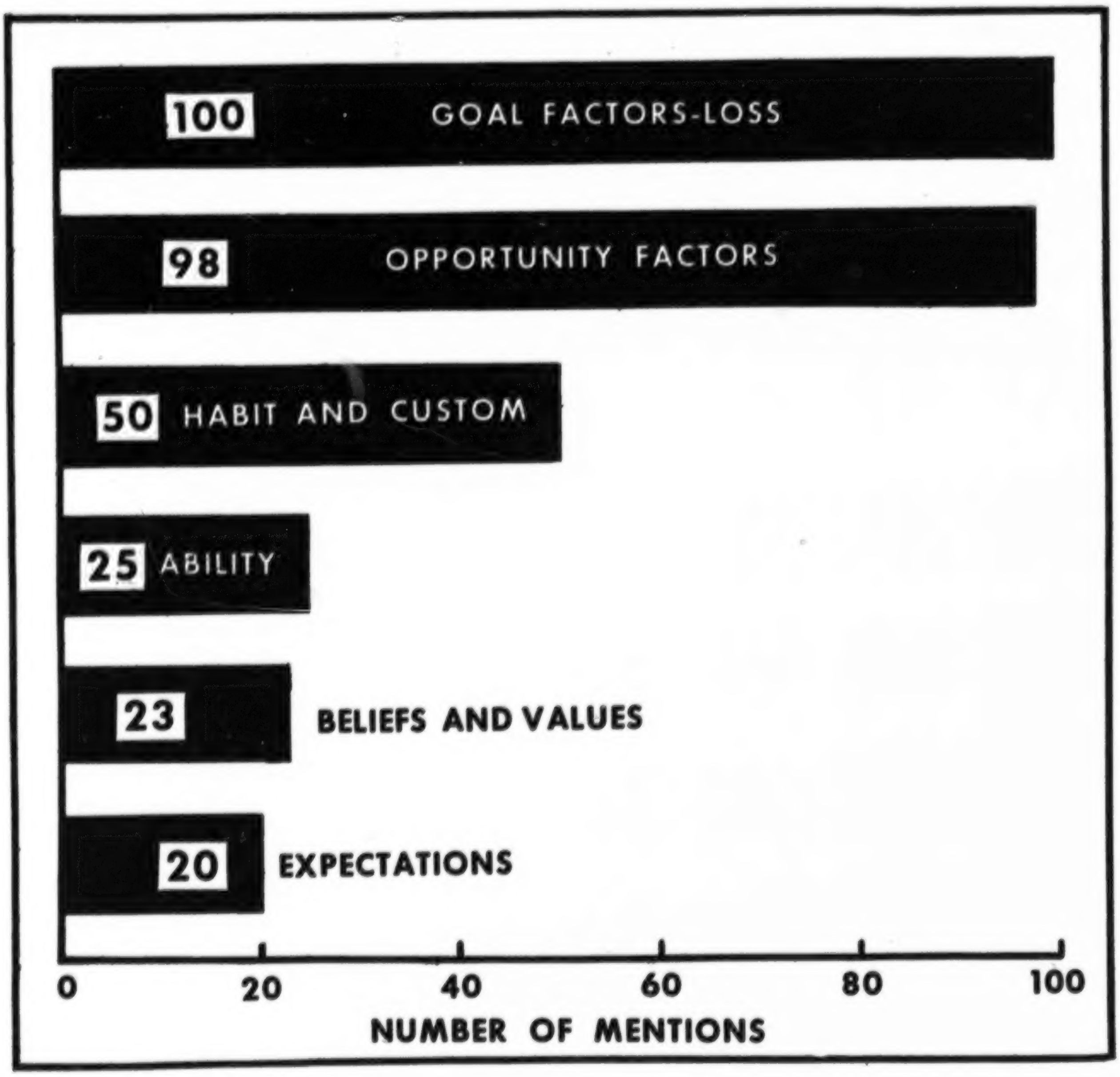


Figure 6.

Factors opposing a decrease in the dependence of the family on farming as a source of income. (Based on the answers of 163 respondents to questions which asked about each specific factor.)

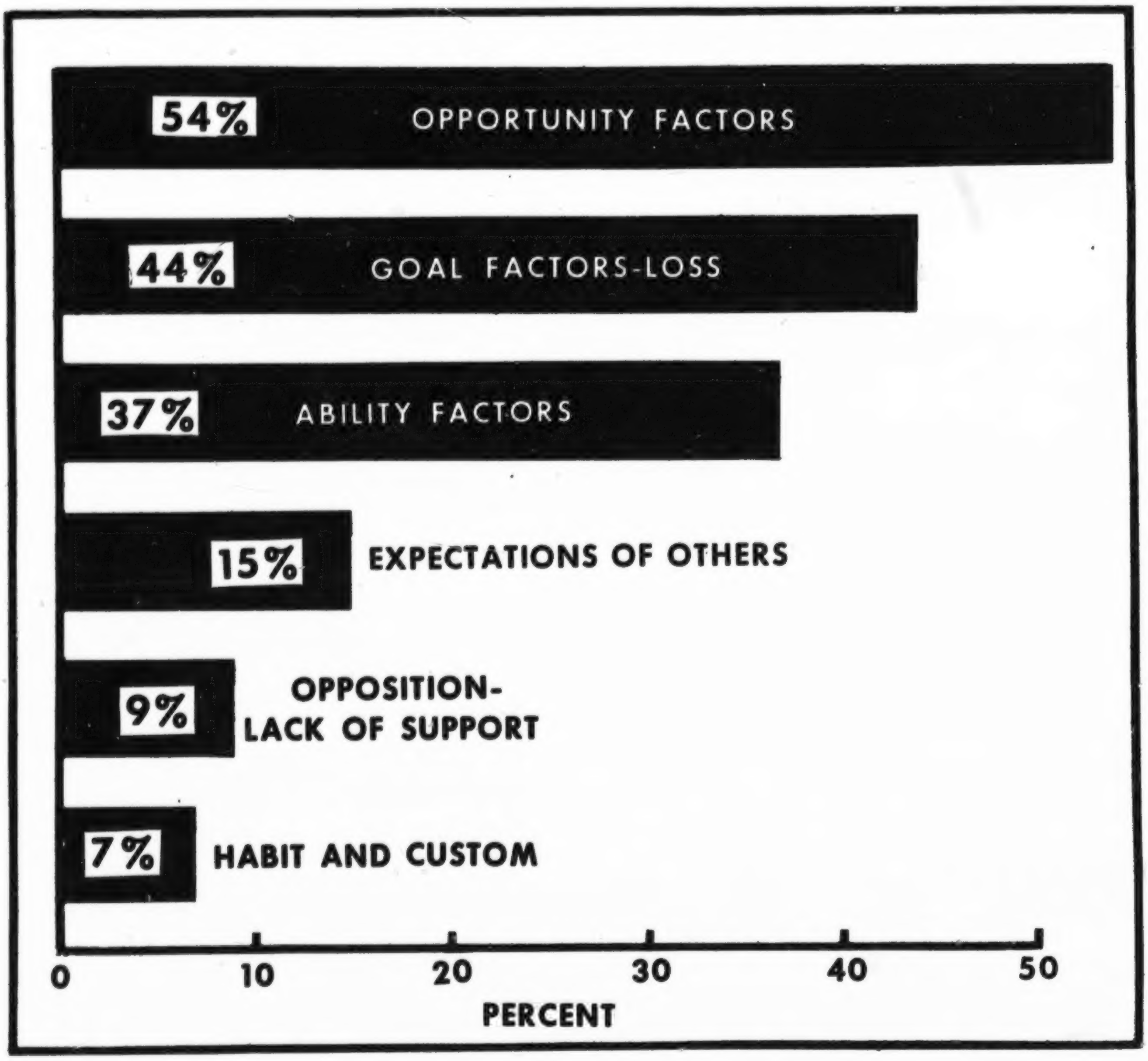
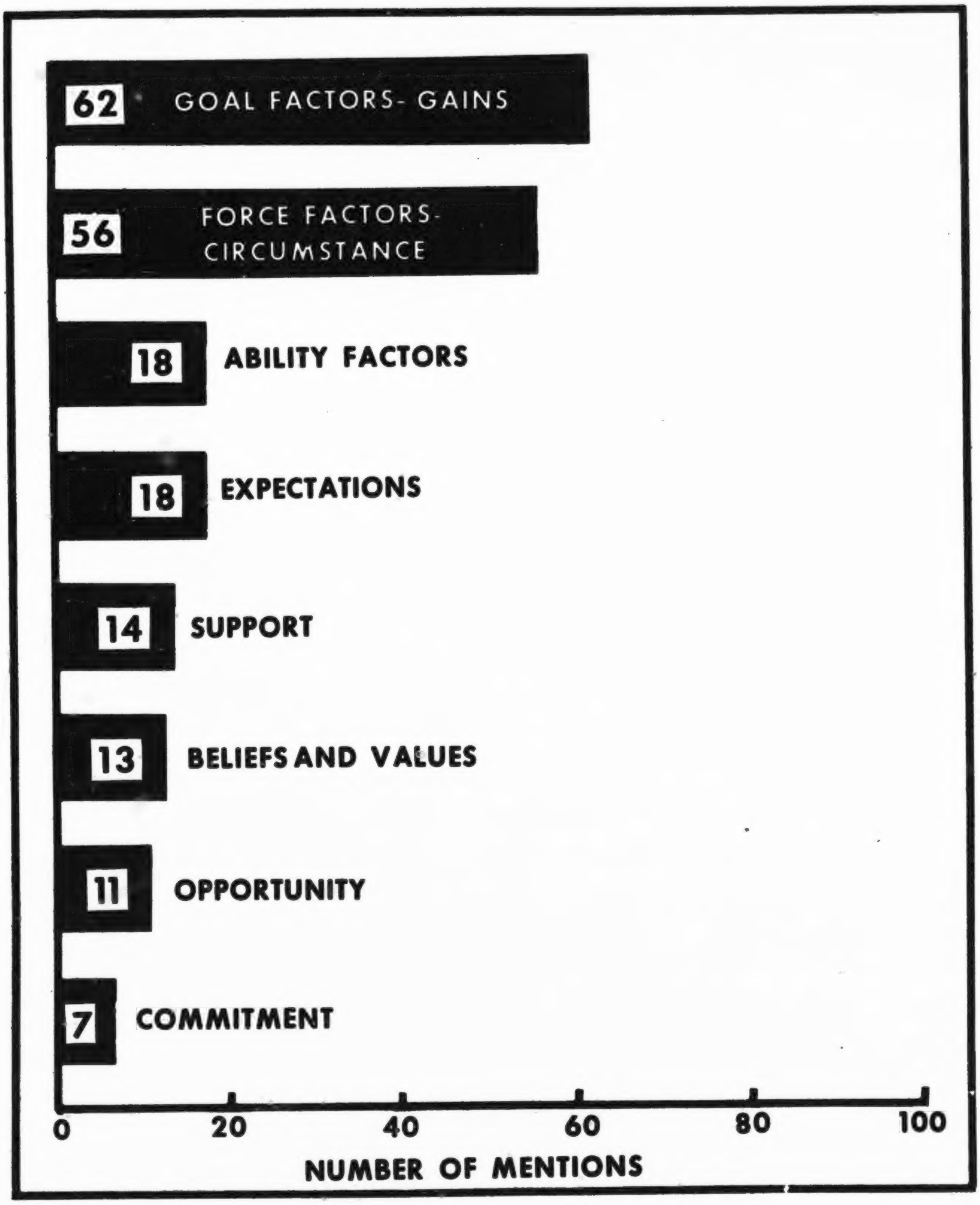


Figure 7.

Factors favoring an increased dependence on farming as a source of family income. (Based on an analysis of reasons given by 44 respondents.)



substantial when the fact that there are only 44 respondents is taken into account.

The second listing, which compares the factors with each other on a proportional basis, supplements the data already presented. In this listing, goals leads the list while support and expectations move up to about the same proportion as force. Figure 8. Opportunity follows not too far behind and ability and habit trail at the bottom of the list.

Taken together, we may conclude that the main factors which farm families are aware of as favoring an increased dependence on farming are: goals, force, support, expectations, opportunity and ability.

Factors Opposing an Increased Dependence on Farming

Only 16 of the 44 respondents considering this decision listed reasons opposing an increased dependence on farming. All 44 responded to the structured questions evaluating the influence of each factor separately. Nevertheless, the two listings tend to substantiate each other. Goals in the form of losses and opportunity rank in the top two positions for both lists. Figures 9 and 10.

Force, expectations and ability factors are present in enough instances to warrant consideration as barriers on the route to increased dependence in farming.

In summary, some of the main factors which promote change of occupation in an economically depressed area are: goals, support, force, expectation, opportunity, ability and the value that they should support themselves and their families and thus meet their provider role obligations. Some of the main factors which appear to stand in the way of increased dependence on farming are: opportunity, goals, fear of loss, ability, expectations of others and support.

Factor Dominance

One of the most important considerations in analyzing the components which enter into a decision is the dominance of the various factors when they are present. Dominant factors exert greater influence and win over less dominant factors. For this reason dominance and frequency of occurrence need to be viewed together. The respondent indicates the dominance of each factor by stating whether it had none, little, some or much influence in the decision. See Appendix B.

Figure 8.

Factors favoring an increased dependence on farming as a family income. (Based on the answers of 44 respondents to structured questions about each factor.)

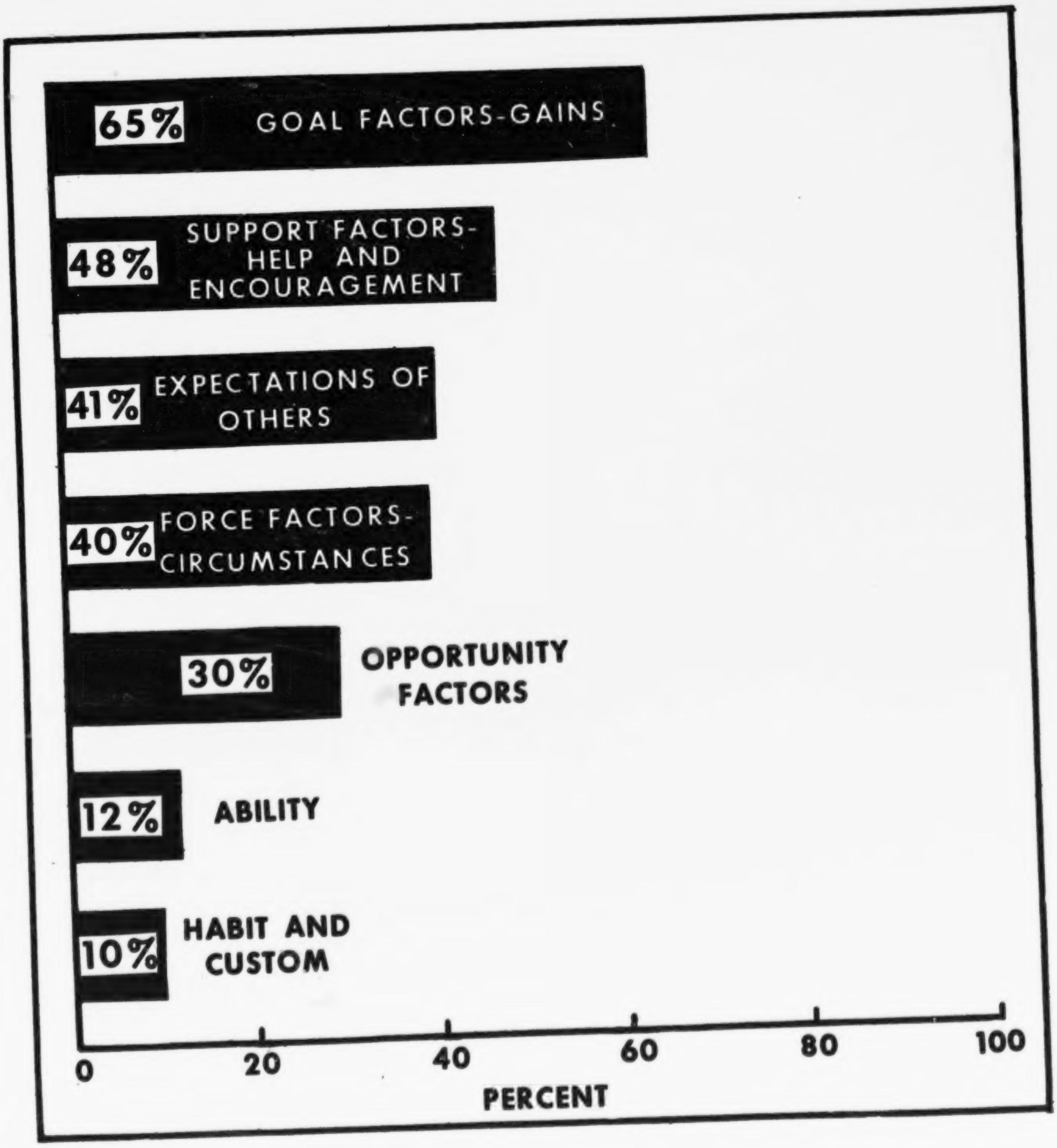


Figure 9.

Factors which oppose an increased dependence on farming as a family income. (Based on the answers of 16 respondents.)

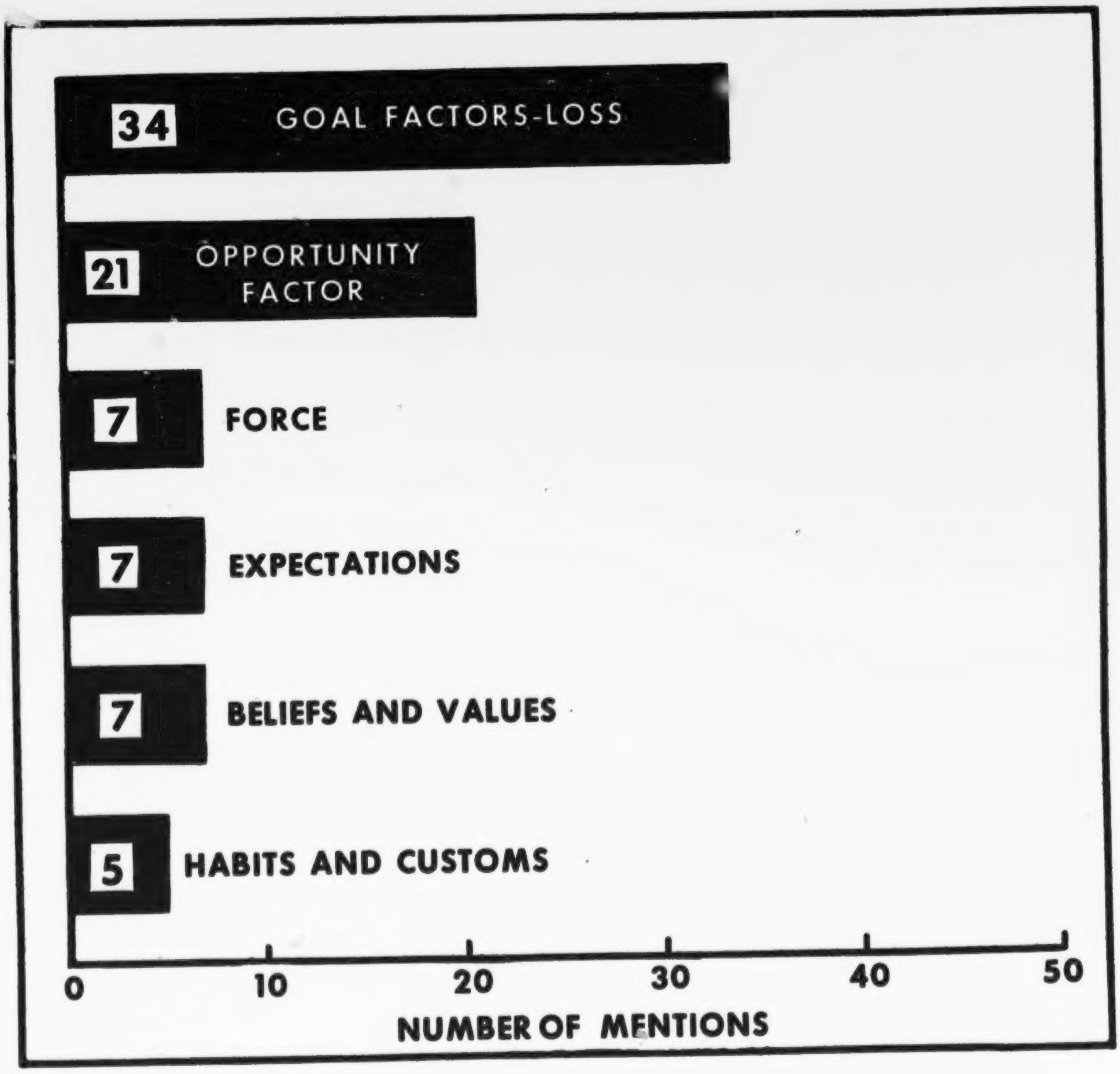
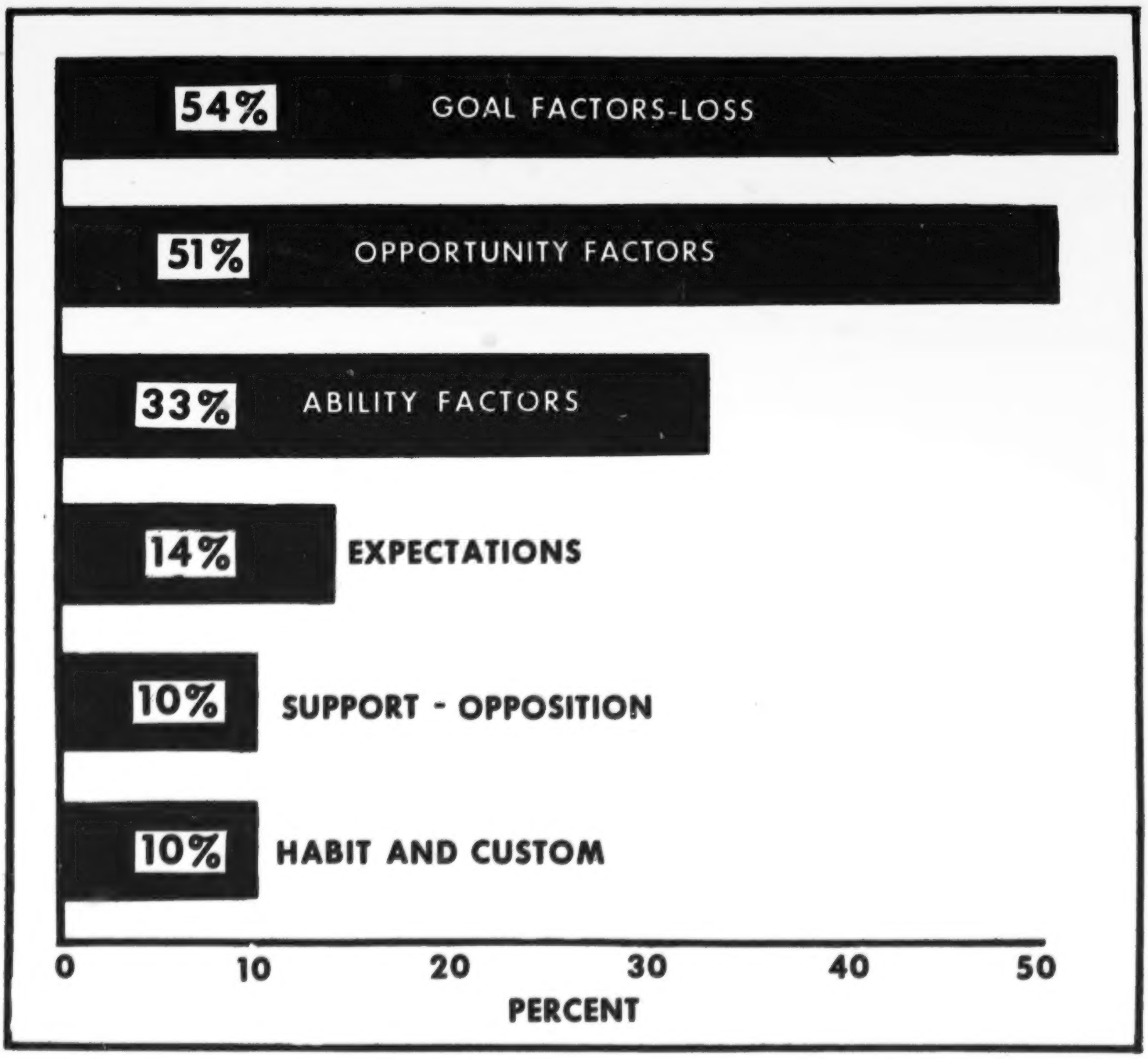


Figure 10.

Factors which oppose an increased dependence on farming as a family income. (Based on the responses of 44 respondents to structured questions which evaluate each of the factors separately.)



The two most dominant factors which promote the shift out of farming when they are present are force and commitment, followed by two other powerful influences, the expectations and support or nonsupport of others. Table 1.

Commitment, though powerful when present, is a factor only occasionally, but the other three dominant factors are frequently present. The picture is quite different for the factors which oppose the shift to less dependence on farming. Ability, opportunity, expectations and support or nonsupport are the most dominant factors when present. Force and commitment, which were dominant in promoting the shift out of farming, are on the bottom of the list when it comes to opposing the shift out of farming.

The list of factors, which are dominant in promoting increased dependence on farming, is the same as those promoting the shift out of farming except for goals which have moved from a lower middle position of dominance to a top position of dominance, both in favoring and opposing an increased involvement in farming. Habit has moved up as a dominant factor opposing an increased dependence on farming, but rarely ever enters into the situation as a factor opposing this change.

Table 1

Average Degree of Influence Which Designated Factors Are Estimated to Have Had in the Decision When They Were Present and the Estimated Frequency of Their Presence in Decisions Considering a Decrease of Involvement in Farming

Factors Favoring the Change			Factors Opposing the Change		
Factors in Rank Order	Average Weight	Frequency Number	Factors in Rank Order	Average Weight	Frequency Number
(1) Force	2.4	64	(1) Ability	2.4	59
(2) Commitment	2.3	9	(2) Opportunity	2.2	85
(3) Expectations	2.2	48	(3) Expectations	2.2	24
(4) Support	2.1	68	(4) Support	2.1	13
(5) Goals	2.0	116	(5) Habit	2.0	11
(6) Opportunity	2.0	60	(6) Goals	1.0	69
(7) Habit	2.0	25	(7) Commitment	1.8	4
(8) Ability	2.0	21	(8) Force	1.2	4

PART III

A Consideration of Specific Factors Related to Five Occupational Decisions

The previous section presented the decisions and the factors at a very general level. This section of the report treats both the decisions and the factors influencing the decisions with a greater degree of specificity. Instead of discussing those who considered a decrease in dependence on farming, there are four more specific categories. The larger grouping is first divided into those who made the proposed change and those who did not make the proposed change. Those who made the proposed change were subdivided into three subcategories: (1) those who changed from full-time farming to part-time farming, consisting of 52 households; (2) those who changed from full-time farming to full-time nonfarm activity, consisting of 27 households; and (3) those who changed from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm activity, consisting also of 52 households. There were only 30 households which considered a change to less dependence on farming and who did not make the change. Since the number was small, this grouping was not subdivided.

There were 44 households that considered a change to an increased dependence on farming. Of these 44, all but two made the proposed change. Because of the difficulty of drawing conclusions from only two cases, this category is not presented. Because of the small number involved, the 42 households which considered increasing their dependence on farming and who did so, are treated as a single category without further subdivision.

As we view the factors which relate to these five types of occupational decisions, the reader should keep in mind the general picture in which these decisions have been taking place.

In this study, we are viewing for a brief span of years, what is happening to one small segment of farm households that are part of the larger picture of the American farm economy. These farm households are caught in the powerful tides and currents of the American Agricultural Revolution and the technological changes which are a part of it. Farm efficiency is increasing, farms and herds have been growing larger, but the real farm income of most farm families has been declining in spite of increased effort to keep up with the times. The pressure on the farm family budget has been gradually increasing. This pressure and its consequences is taking large numbers of farm households out of farming. In the five decisions presented in this section, some of the forces and some of the stages of this shift out of farming may be clearly seen.

Decision One. The Change from Full-time Farming to Part-time Farming.

The title "The Shift from Full-time to Part-time Farming" may be misleading. In most instances, it might be more accurately described as family economic adjustment through the addition of a second occupation. In effect what most families attempt to do is to carry two full-time occupations, with the male head of the household carrying the nonfarm occupation by himself and maintaining the farm by supplementing the time he can put in on the farm with help from other household members, or from hired help. The question might well be asked: Why would a man who works hard on one full-time job, load himself down with a second job which would take all of his free time, and leave him little time to spend with his family? The answer which many farmers gave as a reason for this second job was: I had to make extra money, somehow, somewhere, to support the family and to meet obligations.

Behind the above statement and implicit in it lies one of the most powerful value standards in American society. The strength of this value standard was evidenced in data from another study which the senior author conducted in a New York Community and which included a large number of value standards.[1] A cross section of adults in the community was asked: How right or wrong would you consider his action to be if you had a married son who spends his earnings on himself and lets his wife and three children worry about their own food, clothing and shelter? The wife has taken a job to support the children.

Answers:

Very Very Right	Very Right	All Right	Neither Right Nor Wrong	Wrong	Very Wrong	Very Very Wrong
1%	1%	1%	2%	8%	11%	76%

The percentage of respondents who considered this behavior very wrong and very, very wrong was the largest of any of the fifty behaviors considered in the study. From these data, we may conclude that one of the strongest value standards in American society is that the male head of the family has the obligation to support himself and his wife and to support his children until they are able to be self-sustaining. This value standard is so completely accepted and assumed by the households in this study, that it is never identified explicitly. A few statements, such as the 33 listed under value standards, clearly assume it. Many others seem also to assume it, but can be grouped more obviously under other headings.

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[1] Unpublished data on file in Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University.

The factors most frequently mentioned as reasons for the shift to part-time farming reflect the economic pressures, and suggest that it is a particular type of family that tries to work out its adjustment by adding a second occupation. Table 2. The reasons most frequently mentioned as favoring this type of change in the order of their frequency are:

(1) Financial gain.
(2) Had to make extra money somehow, somewhere, to support the family and meet obligations.
(3) Other family members were willing to help with the farm work.
(4) Had a job opportunity.
(5) Family and friends encouraged the change.
(6) Had the abilities needed in the nonfarm job.
(7) Would gain increased security through the job benefits.
(8) Lacked the size and resources to stay in farming without another job.
(9) Family members and friends encouraged the change.
(10) The opportunity might not come again.

The reasons which stand out most clearly as opposing the addition of a second occupation are:

(1) I would have to neglect the farm.
(2) I like farming and the associated way of life.
(3) I could have remained in full-time farming.
(4) I would be working harder and would be putting in longer hours.
(5) Family and friends expected me to remain in full-time farming.

Table 3.

The fact that there was a job opportunity involving activities which the male head was able to do, and that the family members were able and willing to help with the farm work, helped to channel the adjustment response in the direction of adding a second occupation.

Table 2. Reasons for Making the Shift from Full-time Farming to Part-time Farming (N = 52)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Financial gain	53
2. Increased security through job benefits	11
3. Easier work	5
4. Like the nonfarm job	5
5. Don't have to get up so early in the morning	3
6. More free time - easier work hours	2
7. Other goals	3
Total	82
Value Standards	
1. Had to make extra money somehow, somewhere to support the family and meet obligations	33
Support	
1. Other family members willing to help with the farm work	17
2. Family members and friends encouraged the change	9
3. Able to employ some help	3
4. Inability to get help made it essential that I give up full-time farming	3
5. Other	1
Total	33
Opportunity	
1. Had a job opportunity	14
2. Opportunity might not come again	8
3. Limited opportunity in farming	3
4. Good opportunity to sell herd	1
5. Other	3
Total	29

Table 2. cont'd.

	Number of Mentions
Ability	
1. Had the skills and ability for the other job	11
2. Lacked size and resources to stay in farming without another job	9
3. Unable to continue in full-time farming because of my health	2
4. Others with one mention each	6
Total	29
Expectations	
1. Family, wife and friends expected me to make this change	12
Force	
1. Illness and poor health forced the change	4
2. Indebtedness forced the change	4
3. Lost my hired help	2
4. Circumstances forced the change	1
Total	11
Belief Orientation	
1. I was confident it was the right thing to do	7
2. The change was in line with my beliefs	3
Total	10
Self-Commitment	
1. I had committed myself to neighbors	2
Grand Total	240

Table 3. Factors Opposing the Shift from Full-time Farming to Part-time Farming (N = 52)

	Number of Mentions
Goals	
1. I would have to neglect the farm	13
2. I like farming and the associated way of life	8
3. Would be working harder and longer hours	6
4. Would like to have stayed with full-time farming	4
5. There was plenty of farm work to keep me busy	3
6. Don't like not being my own boss	3
7. Don't like being away from home every day	2
8. Others, with only one mention each	10
Total	49
Opportunity	
1. I could have remained in full-time farming	8
Abilities	
1. I had the ability and resources for full-time farming	3
2. Too much heavy work	1
3. Nonfarm job not good for my health	1
4. I lack some of the skills needed for my off-farm work	1
5. I might have been able to "hang on" in full-time farming	1
6. No longer able to work on the farm	1
Total	8
Expectations	
1. Family and friends expected me to remain in full-time farming	5
Support	
1. Family was opposed to the change	2
2. The farm would require more family help	1
Total	3
Belief	
1. Farming is a more independent way of life	1
Habit	
1. Part-time would conflict with my habit of farming	1
Value Standards	
1. In my nonfarm job, I had to work on Sunday	1
Grand Total	76

Decision Two. The Change from Full-time Farming to Full-time Nonfarming

The reasons most frequently mentioned for the change from full-time farming to full-time nonfarm activities reflect the economic pressure and clearly indicate why these families would not have elected to add a second occupation. Table 4.

Financial gain, economic security and the fact that the farm income was too small were high on the list reflecting the economic pressure. Almost equally frequent were those who indicated that circumstances had forced the change, particularly, poor health. There was not enough family help to keep the farm going, and the family was not able to obtain other help. The shift to nonfarm work was viewed as a shift to easier work with more free time. The change was encouraged and expected by family members and friends.

The pressures to leave farming were obviously sufficient to take precedence over the fact that most of the family heads in this grouping express a strong liking for farming and the way of life associated with it. Table 5.

Decision Three. The Change from Part-time Farming to Full-time Non-Farm Activity

The adding of a second occupation to farming tends to be a temporary rather than a permanent adjustment for most farm families. The factors which end this type of adjustment are evident in the reasons given for the shift from part-time farming to full-time nonfarm activity. Table 6. Financial pressure was not as evident as when the second occupation was added. The financial loss was not a major problem for many, as they report the farm was not providing very much for the family income. While financial reasons were important, another cluster of reasons presents a stronger influence in directing the shift out of part-time farming. Poor health, unable to do two jobs, loss of family help, inability to obtain help and force of circumstances such as indebtedness, loss of facilities, hired help quit, and called into the Armed Forces presented situational circumstances which practically forced these families to give up the maintenance of two occupations as a type of adjustment. Under these conditions, family members and friends encouraged and expected the change to a single occupation.

Table 4. Reasons for Making the Shift from Full-time Farming to Full-time Nonfarming (N = 27)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Financial gain	11
2. Economic security from nonfarm job and accompanying benefits	9
3. Farm income was too small	8
4. Easier hours and more free time in nonfarm work	6
5. Gain satisfaction	4
6. Didn't want to incur a heavy debt to stay in farming	3
7. Easier work	2
8. Other	2
Total	45
Support	
1. Family and friends encouraged the change	8
2. Not enough family help to keep the farm going	7
3. Unable to get help	4
4. Received help from family members in making change	3
5. Too much government interferences	1
Total	23
Ability	
1. Lacked size and resources to stay in farming	8
2. Unable to do all of the work that needed to be done	4
3. Unable to make enough to hire needed help	3
4. Lacked knowledge of dairy farming	2
5. Had the skills for the nonfarm job	2
6. Farming was bad for my health	2
Total	21

Table 4. cont'd.

		Number of Mentions
Opportunity		
1.	Opportunity to obtain job	4
2.	Opportunity might not come later	3
3.	Little or no opportunity in farming	2
4.	Opportunity to sell	2
5.	Had an alternate use for the land	1
6.	Thought I would get a job any time	1
	Total	13
Force		
1.	Poor health forced change	10
2.	Circumstances forced change	1
3.	Amount of work forced change	1
4.	Unable to meet mortgage payments	1
	Total	13
Belief Orientations		
1.	Was confident the change was right	8
2.	The change was in line with my beliefs	1
	Total	9
Expectations		
1.	Family members and friends expected me to make the change	7
Value Standard		
1.	Had to make more money somehow	3
	Grand Total	134

Table 5. Factors Opposing the Shift from Full-time Farming to Full-time Nonfarming (N = 27)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Like farming and the associated way of life	15
2. Would lose the security of the farm	4
3. Would lose the farm produce	3
4. Would lose on a lot of time and effort I had invested in the place	3
5. Would mean a decrease in income	2
6. Would have to neglect the farm	2
7. Others, which are mentioned only once each	6
Total	35
Belief Orientations	
1. Farming is a more independent way of life	5
2. Farming is healthy work	3
3. The farm is a good place to rear children	1
Total	9
Opportunity	
1. I could have remained in farming	4
2. It's hard to get a buyer who is able to pay	1
3. I could have made the change at some later time	1
Total	6
Ability	
1. I knew only farming	2
2. I had the abilities and resources for full-time farming	1
3. I was uncertain of my ability physically to do a different type of nonfarm job	1
4. I lacked the education to get a good job	1
Total	5

Table 5 cont'd.

	Number of Mentions
Expectations	
1. My family and friends expected me to stay with farming	5
Support	
1. My family was opposed to the change	2
2. My neighbors and friends said they thought I would be foolish to leave farming	1
Total	3
Habit	
1. My whole way of life was changed	1
Value Standard	
1. In my nonfarm job I had to work on Sunday	1
Grand Total	65

Table 6. Reasons for Making the Shift from Part-time Farming to Full-time Nonfarming (N = 52)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Financial gain	25
2. Farm only providing a small income	18
3. More free time - easier hours	9
4. Milk and livestock prices too low	8
5. Didn't like farm work	7
6. Gain increase & satisfaction for self and family	6
7. Wanted to keep the security of the nonfarm job	4
8. Wife was tired of farm work	2
9. Easier work	2
10. Didn't want to go into debt again	2
11. Others with one mention only	4
Total	87
Ability	
1. Unable to do two jobs	14
2. Farm too small and lacked adequate resources	14
3. Unable to do farm work because of health	7
4. Had skills for the nonfarm job	3
5. Lacked knowledge about farming	2
6. Other ability factors mentioned once each	7
Total	47
Support	
1. Loss of family help	13
2. Unable to get help	8
3. Family and friends encouraged change	7
4. There were other relatives who wanted to take over the farm	3
5. Wife was unable to do the farm work	3
6. Other	1
Total	35

Table 6. cont'd.

		Number of Mentions
Force		
1.	Poor health	16
2.	Force of circumstances	7
3.	Indebtedness forced change	5
4.	Loss of facilities	2
5.	Hired help quit	2
6.	Had to go into the Armed Forces	2
7.	Forced out by the price squeeze	1
	Total	35
Opportunity		
1.	Opportunity of a job	6
2.	Little opportunity in farming	5
3.	Opportunity to sell farm	4
4.	Opportunity might not come again	4
5.	Others with only one mention each	3
	Total	22
Belief Orientations		
1.	Was confident that the change was right	10
2.	Change was in line with my beliefs	3
	Total	13
Expectations		
1.	Family and friends expected me to make the change	10
Value Standards		
1.	I had to have extra money	5
Self-Commitment		
1.	I had committed myself to the neighbors	2
	Grand Total	256

The shift was made with considerable reluctance, however. Most respondents expressed a strong liking for farming and its associated way of life. They were reluctant to take a loss on their investment, to lose the farm produce for the family and to accept a reduced total income. Table 7.

These data suggest that the two-occupation adjustment to the economic pressure of the time is a temporary and unstable solution. The factors which make it possible -- good health and additional family help from the wife, children and other family members -- change in time. Changes in these factors render the family unable to maintain the two-occupation adjustment. Faced with this situation, the family gives up farming. The shift from full-time farming to full-time nonfarming has thus been made in two stages rather than one.

Decision Four. Decision Not to Decrease the Family's Dependence on Farming

There were thirty families which decided not to change to a decreased dependence on farming. Some of these thirty were full-time farmers and some were part-time farmers carrying two occupations. Because the number was small, the category was not subdivided. As a result, some of the reasons apply more to full-time farming than to part-time farming while for others the reverse is true.

Most respondents felt they would have gained financially, would have had more free time and easier work if they had made the change. Table 8. Many had poor health and were encouraged to change by their families and their friends. In the face of this combination of factors, why did they then not make the change as most others with a similar cluster of influences did? The forces opposing this change are revealed in Table 9.

The proportion who like farming, is no greater than for those who made the change. The data indicate that a sizeable proportion did not perceive of themselves as able to make the change. They said, "The only thing I know is farming." Another sizeable proportion reported that they were unable to obtain any other work and a few indicated that they had poor health, or that they couldn't handle two jobs. Thus, it appears that inability to do other work and lack of

Table 7. Factors Opposing the Shift from Part-time Farming to Full-time Nonfarming (N = 52)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Like farming and the associated way of life	28
2. Would have to take a loss on my investment	8
3. Would lose produce for family consumption	7
4. Would mean a decrease in income	7
5. Loved cows and liked to work with them	7
6. Had built up a good dairy herd	5
7. Meant loss of steady secure income	3
8. I like to be my own boss	2
9. Others with one mention only	5
Total	72
Ability	
1. I lost the dairy I had built	2
2. I lacked resources for the nonfarm work	2
3. I had all the resources to run a dairy	1
4. I don't like to deal with the public	1
5. Other income made the change possible	1
Total	7
Opportunity	
1. I could have stayed in farming	5
2. I might have had a better price if I had waited to sell	1
Total	6
Belief	
1. Farm is a better place to rear children	2
2. Farming is a more independent way of life	2
3. The farm is a healthier place to live	1
4. I was not confident that the change was the right thing to do	1
Total	6

Table 7 cont'd.

	Number of Mentions
Expectations	
1. My family and friends expected me to stay with the farm	4
Support	
1. My family was opposed to the change	2
Value Standards	
1. Selling the farm was in conflict with my belief in the value of work	1
Grand Total	98

Table 8. Factors Favoring a Decreased Dependence on Farming in a Decision for Which the Final Outcome Was Not to Decrease the Family's Dependence on Farming (N = 30)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Financial gain	25
2. More free time - easier work hours	11
3. Easier work	5
4. Wanted to take a vacation	4
5. Farm producing very small income	2
6. Economic security from nonfarm job	2
7. Interested in the nonfarm job	2
8. Wanted son to have a chance on the farm	2
9. Others with one mention only	3
Total	56
Ability	
1. Full-time farming was too hard on health	6
2. Lack of resources	5
3. Unable to do two jobs	3
4. Too old to work now	3
5. Had skills for the other job	3
6. Needed more rest	1
Total	21
Support	
1. Family and friends would support change	12
2. Unable to obtain help	6
3. Not enough family labor	2
4. Family unable to help as much as before	2
Total	21

Table 8. cont'd

	Number of Mentions
Opportunity	
1. Had an opportunity to sell at a good price	3
2. Opportunity might not come again	2
3. Declining opportunities in farming	2
4. Had the opportunity to stay on in farming	2
5. Had a better alternate income	2
6. Had the opportunity for a nonfarm job	1
Total	12
Force	
1. Health was poor	11
2. Amount of work forced the change	1
Total	12
Expectations	
1. Family members expected me to make the change	6
Belief Orientations	
1. Was confident it was the right thing to do	2
2. The change was in line with my beliefs	1
Total	3
Grand Total	131

2

Table 9. Factors Opposing a Decreased Dependence on Farming for Farm Households Which Considered the Change But Who Had Not Changed at the Time the Survey Was Being Conducted (N = 30)

	Number of Mentions
Goals	
1. Like farming and the associated way of life	10
2. Would be taking a loss on my life's work and investment	8
3. The change would be financially risky	6
4. Would be giving up the security which the farm provides	5
5. Wouldn't be my own boss	3
6. Would lose financially	3
7. Others with one mention only	5
Total	40
Ability	
1. The only thing I know is farming	12
2. Unable to get other work	10
3. Couldn't do two jobs	2
4. Poor health	2
5. Don't have time to work out	1
Total	27
Opportunity	
1. Opportunity to remain in farming	5
2. Difficult to sell farm at a fair price	3
3. Too much competition for my nonfarm job	1
4. Difficult to get someone to take care of the farm	1
Total	10
Expectations	
1. Family and friends expected me to stay on with farming	7
Habits	
1. The change would be in conflict with my habits and the way of life I have developed	5

Table 9 cont'd.

	Number of Mentions
Force	
1. I lost the nonfarm job I was planning on	2
Support	
1. The family were opposed to the change	1
2. My boss wanted me to stay on in my job	1
Total	2
Belief Orientation	
1. Farming is a nice independent way of life	1
Grand Total	94

opportunity to obtain nonfarm jobs are major forces in the no change pattern. On the other hand, their liking for farming, the desire not to take a loss on the farm, the desire not to risk a financial loss and the loss of the security of the farm and the additional fact that they had the choice and opportunity to stay on with things as they were, all encouraged and rationalized the no change solution.

Decision Five. The Shift to an Increased Dependence on Farming

When the major direction of changes in the area is toward a decreased dependence on farming, what are the factors which explain the counter movement to an increased dependence on farming? Almost half of the 42 respondents indicated that under the circumstances which they faced, an increased dependence on farming represented their best economic alternative. Table 10. They felt they could make as much or more money farming than by the other alternatives available to them. Approximately one-fourth felt they would gain in economic security by the shift. A similar number were influenced by their liking for farming and its associated way of life.

The opportunity factor had a two-way influence for this grouping. One-fourth said their nonfarm work terminated and four reported that there were no nonfarm jobs available. In contrast to the lack of opportunity in nonfarm employment, five indicated that they already had a farm and the essential resources, and six others indicated that the opportunity to obtain a farm was an important factor in increasing their dependence on farming. Almost half indicated that circumstances of various types had forced the change. A large proportion indicated that the encouragement and expectations of the family were important factors in bringing about the shift.

The change toward increased dependence on farming was not welcomed by all the respondents. Approximately one-third indicated that they had liked their nonfarm jobs. To a similar number the change represented a loss of income. Table 11. To others it meant added costs for farm resources. Approximately a third were faced with the choice that they could have kept their nonfarm job had they chosen to do so.

Table 10. Factors Favoring an Increased Dependence on Farming (N = 42)

Goals	Number of Mentions
1. Could make as much or more money farming	20
2. I like farming and the associated way of life	11
3. Would provide greater security	10
4. Bought it to provide a retirement income	4
5. Would gain free time and work fewer hours	5
6. Would be able to spend more time at home	4
7. Wasn't getting enough money from the nonfarm job	3
8. I would be able to do a better job on the farm	3
9. I have too much invested in the farm to quit	3
10. Family would have farm produce	2
11. Family would gain satisfaction	2
12. I would be my own boss	2
13. This way I could stay in town and work locally	2
14. Others with one mention only	8
Total	79
Opportunity	
1. Nonfarm job terminated	10
2. Had the opportunity to obtain a farm	6
3. Already had a farm and resources	5
4. There were no nonfarm jobs available	4
5. Had the opportunity to sell the nonfarm business	4
6. Opportunity to sell might not come again	3
7. Others mentioned once only	2
Total	34
Support	
1. Family encouraged and wanted me to change	23
2. Father and son worked together on a bigger farm	3
3. There was a loss of family help on the farm	3
4. There was an increase of family help	2
5. Others with one mention only	2
Total	33

Table 10. cont'd.

	Number of Mentions
Force	
1. Health or age forced me out of my nonfarm work	5
2. Circumstances forced the change	5
3. Lost my nonfarm employment	4
4. Need for more money forced me back into farming	3
5. Couldn't carry two jobs	2
6. My farm enterprise was too small to support the family	2
Total	21
Ability	
1. Was working too many hours on two jobs	7
2. Couldn't earn enough to hire help	3
3. I knew how to farm	3
4. I could make money farming	2
5. Others with only one mention	4
Total	19
Belief Orientations	
1. I was confident the change was the right thing to do	10
2. The farm is the best place to rear a family	3
3. Farming is good, honest work	2
4. Family members would be better off with the father at home	1
5. The change was in line with my beliefs	1
Total	17
Expectations	
1. The family expected me to make the change	15
Commitment	
1. I was committed to make the change	4
Grand Total	222

Table 11. Factors Opposing an Increased Dependence on Farming (N = 42)

	Number of Mentions
Goals	
1. Liked my nonfarm job	13
2. Loss of extra income	12
3. Farming would cost extra money for resources	4
4. Nonfarm work was easier and had better hours	3
5. Loss of security benefits as part of the job	2
6. Others, with one mention	6
Total	40
Opportunity	
1. Could have kept the nonfarm job	10
2. Could have kept both jobs	2
3. Could have made more money in the nonfarm job	2
Total	14
Force	
1. Financial reverses forced me back into farming	4
Support	
1. Some family members and friends opposed the change	3
2. Some friends had opposed my working off the farm	1
Total	4
Expectations	
1. Family and friends did not expect me to change	3
Ability	
1. Farming would require too much of a debt load	1
2. Lacked capital and livestock for farming	1
3. Had the abilities for otherwork	1
Total	3

Table 11 cont'd

Belief Orientations	Number of Mentions
1. Don't believe farmers should work off the farm	1
2. The change would be contrary to my belief, as I would be making less money	1
Total	2
Habit	
1. I had always worked	1
Grand Total	71

PART IV

The Relevant Clusters of Cognitions Which Enter into an Occupational Decision

In the last section, the main reasons which influence different types of decisions were presented. In this section, the way in which these factors are combined into a small cluster of relevant components for each decision maker is illustrated.

Examples are given for the different kinds of decisions, to illustrate the variety of ways in which factors are combined into a relevant cluster of components each with a relative weight assigned by the respondent. The illustrations tell very much the same story, so the general observations which relate to all or several cases will be called to the attention of the reader.

The reasons given by respondents who considered an occupational change, clearly indicate that Proposition B on page 5 is valid for occupational decisions. This proposition states that "every social action is founded on a small cluster of relevant cognitions." For all those who considered a decreased dependence on farming, there was an average of 4.9 reasons given favoring the action, and an average of 2.2 reasons opposing the action. For household heads who considered an increased dependence on farming, there was an average of 5.1 reasons favoring the change, and 2.2 reasons opposing the change. In each case the total is a small cluster of relevant components. The weights given and the direction favoring and opposing the action support proposition B - III, page 9 which indicates that "each component in the cluster has direction and loading." For household heads who considered a change and who made the change, the average number of reasons favoring the change was 4.9, and the average number of reasons opposing it, 2.0. In contrast for those who considered a change but who did not make the change, the average number of reasons favoring the change was 4.1, whereas, the average number of reasons opposing the change was 3.6. There were a few cases considering a change at the time the survey was made. The number of reasons favoring and opposing the change for these cases was approximately equal.

These data give support for the Theory of Balance (Heider 1958) Cognitive Dissonance, (Festinger 1957) and Consistency (Osgood and Tannanbaum 1955). It indicates that after a decision has been made, the decision maker rearranges his data or facts. The data suggest that he drops off or de-emphasizes the inconsistent reasons and strengthens the weighting of the consistent reasons. This automatically introduces an error which is built into all studies of decisions in which the data are obtained after the decisions are made. The amount of data and cognitive shift following a decision deserves detailed study.

A general theory of consistency indicates that there are at least three general types of consistency actions which a respondent can take. He can reorganize his cognitions to fit his actions and the data about his situation. He can screen and select data or facts about his situation such that the cluster of data which he considers relevant is consistent with his relevant cluster of cognitions and his relevant cluster of actions. Lastly, he can bring about a change in his actions which make his present actions consistent with his relevant cluster of data, his relevant cluster of cognitions and with his relevant cluster of other actions (Reeder 1964).

In the data presented in this study, there is considerable indication of taking courses of action consistent with the relevant cluster of data and with the meanings or cognitions which these facts hold for the respondent. There is considerable evidence which indicates a selection of data consistent with a proposed action or with a decision which has been made. The third type of behavior, a reorganization of cognitions, is easily inferred from the listing of reasons and from the weight assigned to these reasons. These data lend support to a general theory of consistency.

Full-time Farmers Who Shifted to Part-time Farming by Adding a Second Occupation.

Case #1

A. Things favoring the change in work

		Weight
1.	Needed increased income	10
2.	Lacked the size of herd and machinery to stay in farming without a nonfarm job.	5
3.	The wife thought I should get another job	4
4.	Boys were old enough to help do farm work	2
5.	Gain security through nonfarm job and other fringe benefits	0

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Would like to stay at farming full time, would lose satisfaction	10

Case #2

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Losing money at farming forced change	10
2.	Would gain income	10
3.	Would gain security from good steady job	10
4.	Son could do farm work	9
5.	Farm was too small	8
6.	Had previous experience working at _______________	5

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Hated to give up the family farm, which could happen if I went to work at _______________	8
2.	Might be able to "hang on" in farming without changing	5

Case #3

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Financial gain	10
2.	Farm was too small	10
3.	Money needs forced change	10
4.	Felt he had abilities to make change	9
5.	Wife would encourage change	8
6.	Was in line with beliefs	8
7.	Felt he could be a good _______________	5
8.	Didn't feel opportunity would be around later	5
9.	Was confident in making change	5
10.	It was good, honest work	4
11.	There was the opportunity to change	3

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Father and mother did not expect change	6
2.	Parents opposed to change	6
3.	Had abilities for full-time farming	6
4.	Would be more work	4
5.	Less time to spend on the farm	4
6.	There was some opportunity in farming	3

Full-time Farm Operators Who Made the Big Jump to Full-time **Nonfarm** Activity.

	Weight
Case #1	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Needed income - not making anything at farming	10
2. To stay in, we needed to invest a great deal	8
3. Didn't have resources needed to invest in the farm	6
4. Shorter hours in nonfarm work	4
5. Would have to hire help to stay in farming - not feasible	3
6. Wife working - security if I lost job at Alcoa	3
7. Wife didn't like farming	2
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Liked farming and associated way of life	5
2. Shift work at plant for rest of working days - not a normal, regular life	5
Case #2	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Couldn't afford to hire help	10
2. Two of us couldn't do it	10
3. Prices we have to pay are too great compared to prices we get	10
4. No kids to help on farm	9
5. Government enters in too much	9
6. Income on farm too poor for household	8
7. Working too many hours on farm	8
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Hard to get a person who would pay for farm	10
2. Like farming - clean living	10
3. Healthy living	9
4. I like to be my own boss	9
Case #3	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Bad heart	10
2. Couldn't hire good help (couldn't afford it)	10
3. Couldn't farm it alone	5
4. Shorter hours	1
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Accumulated capital	5
2. Knew only farming experience	3
3. Like farming; conflict	3
4. Could lose income	1

Full-time Farm Operators Who Made the Big Jump to Full-time Nonfarm Activity. cont'd.

Case #4	Weight
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Wife wanted to quit for quite a while	10
2. Wife had a disabling illness	8
3. Had a chance to sell	5
4. Wife and I were alone	5
5. Quit and take it easy for a while	5
B. Things against the change in work	
1. He likes farming	No weights here
2. He likes cows	

Part-time Farm Operators Who Gave Up Farming and Became Fully Dependent on Nonfarm Employment for a Livelihood.

Case #1

A. Things favoring the change in work	Weight
1. Farming part time didn't pay because the hired labor costs too much	10
2. Hired help had quit at the time	10
3. All factors combined to force the change	10
4. It was difficult to hold two jobs	9
5. Farming takes too much time	8

B. Things against the change in work	
1. Dairy could have brought more income	10
2. Would lose some income	10
3. Had invested a lot of time and energy in improving the place	8
4. Loved farming itself	8
5. Had a very high producing dairy	7
6. Farm could teach son responsibility	7
7. It was in conflict with my belief in the value of work	7

Case #2

A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Didn't have help from the family	10
2. Wanted to slow down	10
3. Got discouraged in general	10
4. Family would gain satisfaction from change	9
5. Both wife and I were in poor health	8
6. Family lacked resources for farming	8
7. Didn't have enough money for help	7

B. Things against the change in work	
1. Liked farming	0
2. Father and mother did not expect change	0
3. Parents opposed to change	0

Part-time Farm Operators Who Gave Up Farming and Became Fully Dependent on Nonfarm Employment for a Livelihood, cont'd.

Case #3

	Weight
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Not making any money	10
2. Unable to do two jobs, it was too much	10
3. Not enough family labor	10
4. Family encouraged the change	10
5. Felt we would stop wasting money if we left the farm	10
6. Lacked a knowledge of farming	10
7. Lacked health for large-scale farming	10
8. Circumstances of losing money forced the change	10
9. Farm land was poor	5
10. Family and friends expected change	5
11. Was confident change was right	5
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Like farm animals	0

Part-time Farm Operators Who Changed to Full-time Farm Operators.

Case #1

A. Things favoring the change in work

		Weight
1.	Wife's sickness	10
2.	Circumstances forced the change	10
3.	Committed to make change	9
4.	Age was a factor (Couldn't do it all)	8
5.	Wife encouraged change at the time so we could be together	8
6.	Wife would gain satisfaction and would be better off if I spent more time at home	8
7.	Bought other farm	5
8.	Am confident that change was right	5

B. Things against the change

1.	Enjoyed nonfarm work, got to know people	8
2.	Reduced income	4

Case #2

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Seaway left no further work	10
2.	Tried to get work in my nonfarm job in mines and other places, but all refused me	10
3.	Forced back into farming - didn't know how to do anything else but farming and my particular nonfarm job	10

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Liked the union	9
2.	Good money	8
3.	Liked my nonfarm job	8
4.	Shorter hours	5

Case #3

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Moved over to bigger farm	10
2.	Son got out of school - so wanted to get bigger farm	10
3.	Got hurt on my nonfarm job	10
4.	Son wanted to farm it	9
5.	Make it possible for son to stay at home	9
6.	Made agreement with owner of farm, couldn't work out	8
7.	Whole family wanted me to give up the nonfarm job	7
8.	Children all helped on new farm	6
9.	Gain in income and satisfaction	5

B. Things against the change in work

1.	It meant the loss of some extra money	9

Part-time Farm Operators Who Changed to Full-time Farm Operators, Cont'd.

Case #4

A. Things favoring the change in work

	Weight
1. Couldn't keep up farm and job both	10
2. Farming looked like the best of the two	10
3. Had a lot invested in farm	10
4. Committed to change because of the investment in the farm	10
5. Family would gain satisfaction	5
6. Was confident that change was right	5
7. Lacked education to advance at Alcoa	4
8. Family expected change	3
9. Family would support and help if I changed	3

Case #5

A. Things favoring the change in work

1. Working 20 hours per day with both milking cows and doing job too	10
2. Farm was paying better than plant at that time	10
3. Too much invested in farm to quit	7

B. Things against the change in work

1. Making pretty good money at Alcoa	DK
2. Good retirement plan at plant	3
3. Wife wished I would have quit farming	0
4. Much opportunity to remain on at the plant	0

Case #6

A. Things favoring the change in work

1. Too old to run farm and do nonfarm job also	10
2. Wife was ill	10
3. Couldn't afford to hire help to take my place while I was away	9
4. Wife expected me to drop job	5

B. Things against the change in work

1. Making a little extra money	5
2. Much opportunity to remain in part-time farm work	0

Part-time Farm Operators Who Changed to Full-time Farm Operators cont'd.

Case #7

A. Things favoring the change in work

	Weight
1. Satisfaction - your own place	10
2. Hired help would have taken nonfarm wages	10
3. Had been building dairy up right along	10
4. Had all the work I could handle on farm	7
5. Slack at the plant and if left it would give other men a chance	6
6. Could exchange work with neighbors on machinery	0

B. Things against the change in work

1. Employer wanted me to stay another year	10
2. Liked the nonfarm work	10
3. Would lose extra income	5
4. Opportunity to remain on job	5

Case #8

A. Things favoring the change in work

1. Hired man was going to leave	10
2. Nonfarm work was hard labor	10
3. Too much work in both jobs	10
4. Age forced change	10
5. Family would gain satisfaction, less hectic life	8
6. Could make as much in full-time farming	5
7. Family expected change	3
8. Family would help and support if there was change	2

B. Things against the change in work

1. Some income might be lost by changing	8
2. Had the opportunity to stay in 2 jobs	5

Respondent Who Changed from Full-time Nonfarm Activity to Full-time Farming.

Case #1	Weight
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Always liked farm work	10
2. Reassigned to unpleasant kind of work in my nonfarm job	10
3. Opportunity to buy farm	10
4. Could handle the farm work	10
5. Could make money at farming	8
6. Could be more independent	6
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Had the opportunity to stay in the nonfarm work	5

Farm Operators Who Considered Decreasing Their Dependence on Farming but Who Did Not Do It.

Case #1

A. Things favoring the change in work

		Weight
1.	Lacked help for farm work	10
2.	Loss of off-farm work	5
3.	Could have sold the farm	5
4.	Family would encourage change	5

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Had a home and had it paid for	10
2.	Making a good living	10
3.	Lack education for good job	10
4.	Change was in conflict with our way of life - always farmed it	10
5.	There was a chance to stay here	8

Case #2

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Too long hours to make a living in farming	10
2.	Income higher at nonfarm job	10
3.	More leisure at nonfarm job	10
4.	Farm help not steady	10
5.	Milk prices very low	10
6.	Poor return on money invested in farming	10

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Not much available in the way of nonfarm work	10

Case #3

A. Things favoring the change in work

1.	Extra income	10
2.	Easier if I had the nonfarm job	8

B. Things against the change in work

1.	Wouldn't be able to keep farm up	10
2.	Whole family would be against me taking this job	10
3.	Don't have time to work out	9
4.	Change in habits	8
5.	Would not like to work for someone else	5
6.	Plenty of opportunity to remain as a full-time dairy farmer	0

Part-time Farm Operators Who Considered Giving Up Their Nonfarm Employment But Who Did Not Do It.

	Weight
Case #1	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Like farming	9
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Need clear money for family expenses	10
2. Like my nonfarm work	8
3. Investment in a 40 cow operation would have been necessary	5
Case #2	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Would let me work fewer hours	9
2. Farming would be more profitable if set up this way	6
3. Would just as soon do farm work as my nonfarm work	2
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Can't get good help to work on farm	10
2. Don't know whether can get profit from milk in the future	8

Farm Operators Who Were in the Process of Considering a Reduction in Their Dependence on Farming at the Time They Were Interviewed.

	Weight
Case #1	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Can't do the work - poor health	10
2. Kids don't want to stay on the farm	10
3. Can't hire help - costs too much	10
4. Price of milk very low	10
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Like the farm	10
2. Can't do other work - would lose our only source of income	7
Case #2	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Health is poor	10
2. Want to give son a chance	10
3. Lack health for farming	10
4. Family would encourage change	8
5. There is an opportunity to stay here	3
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Lack education and experience for off-farm work	10
2. Might not make as much on another job	8
3. Leaving farming will mean a complete change in my way of life	8
4. Family members do not expect this change	3
Case #3	
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Wouldn't be tied down to the farm	5
2. Physical labor wouldn't be so much	3
3. Health is only fair	3
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Hate to lose my lifetime's work	10
2. Have a lot invested in the place that would be lost if the place was sold	10
3. Would lose independence	9
4. Can't hold down two jobs	8
5. Life would be completely changed if I left farming	7
6. Family and friends do not expect the change	3

Farm Operators Who Were in the Process of Considering a Reduction in Their Dependence on Farming at the Time They Were Interviewed, cont'd.

Case #4

A. Things favoring the change in work

		Weight
1.	Haven't been feeling well	10
2.	Can't keep up the long hours	10
3.	Lack health for farming	10
4.	Price of milk is forcing change	10
5.	Family members have expected change	5
6.	Family will support and encourage me if I change	5

B. Things against the change in work

		Weight
1.	Lack education for other work	10
2.	Have been in farming all my life - only life I know	5
3.	May miss farming somewhat	3
4.	Family members would be surprised	3

Case #5

A. Things favoring the change in work

		Weight
1.	Too much work in farming and not enough pay	10
2.	Wife could get along if I died while in another job, but not while I am in farming	9
3.	Would have more spare time	9
4.	Help situation is bad	7
5.	Family would support change	3

B. Things against the change in work

		Weight
1.	Like the outdoor life	9
2.	Lack knowledge of modern methods in nonfarm job	9
3.	Will have to get rid of farm	8
4.	Would lose freedom of farming	8
5.	Way of life would be changed	7
6.	Family would not expect change	3

Farm Operators Who Were in the Process of Considering a Reduction in Their Dependence on Farming at the Time They Were Interviewed, cont'd.

Case #6	Weight
A. Things favoring the change in work	
1. Can't afford to hire good help - can't get cooperation	10
2. Wife has a health problem and would like to leave farm	8
3. Had a buyer who would give a good price	8
4. Would get a good price for farm if I sell	8
5. Too much responsibility at present	5
B. Things against the change in work	
1. Always farmed so might not have skills to take on another job	10
2. Not old enough to retire	8
3. Don't know what else to go into	8
4. Brother and father would expect me to stay on farm	2
5. Would worry about getting money from buyer	2

PART V

Some Interpretations and Implications

Having presented the data at three levels of generality and specificity, the time has arrived to interpret the major findings and indicate some of the implications which they may hold for policy makers and others who are concerned with occupational adjustments in low-income areas.

As one looks at the data, in the lines and between the lines, he sees a small segment of the conflict between the farmers of the country and the impersonal relentless forces of the technological revolution which is taking place in American agriculture. One sees many family farmers and farm households holding on with everything that they have as long as they can, and finally capitulating to forces too big for many farmers and households to manage. When the family has the combinations of ability and personnel to do so, the farm family adds a second nonfarm occupation at great sacrifice to the family in time and effort. They keep the two jobs going as long as they can. But when a change of circumstances makes it no longer possible to maintain two occupations, the farm usually goes. It is usually contributing less than the nonfarm employment to the family income. For some who do not find opportunity in nonfarm employment or who lost the nonfarm job, the shift is back into full-time farming.

A small cluster of relevant components combine to bring about the changes which occur - not a single factor. In many cases, some of the factors are of such a nature that they are perceived as force by the farm operator. He changes - leaves farming - not out of choice, but out of necessity as he perceives the situation.

Seven factors are identified in the data as being most important in occupational decisions. These factors are: goals, value standards, force, support, opportunity, ability and expectations. Beliefs, habit and commitment which were also studied were not presented as frequently entering into occupational changes.

These general factors enter into all kinds of occupational decisions. However, at this level of generality, the factors lack the explanatory power to distinguish between different types of decisions.

As the next lower level of generality, however, the more specific factors have much of this desired explanatory power. They reveal the combinations of factors which account for the different courses of action. They reveal the consistency and close tie between the perceived relevant facts, the relevant meanings or cognitions, and the courses of action chosen. They clearly indicate that it is often the occurrence of some event such as: a job opportunity, an opportunity to sell the farm, a hired man who quits, a mortgage payment which can't be met, an illness or disability of the husband or the wife, the children leaving home to go on their own or the closing of a milk plant which brings the whole matter to head and calls for a re-evaluation of the situation and a new course of action. Were it not for these events, one might hazard the guess that the family would have continued for some time in their usual pattern.

The more specific treatment of individual cases gives less explanatory power, but reveals more of the nature of the relevant cluster of components and reveals to some extent, the shift in both data and cognitions which occur after the occupational decision has been made. They reveal also, that for the individuals considering an occupational change some factors carry much more weight than other factors in the final decision. How accurate these perceptions are, is not demonstrable in terms of the data in this study.

The supportive evidence is fairly strong that farm operators in a low-income area hold tightly to their occupation and their place of residence; that when they do change, it is usually as a result of a cluster of powerful factors, not of a single weak factor. The supportive evidence is also strong that the explanatory reasons which explain the change, frequently come from the following factors or category types, namely: goals, value standards, force, support, opportunity, ability and expectations. If we can justly claim supportive evidence for these conclusions, then a few modest recommendations for policy makers based on these reasons may be appropriate.

Some Implications for Policy Makers and Action Programs

Any proposed program to help any population has a strong competitor; the heavily rationalized occupation, location and position in which each respondent finds himself. Any weak program will have little chance of success. On the other hand, a few, half, most or all of the residents of an area could be involved in a program depending on the strength of its perceived relevant cluster of components or factors. Such a program would need to combine several factors in its relevant cluster. It would have to avoid conflict with basic values and would have to be something which the respondent perceives himself as able to do. It should be designed to maximize the positive forces and to reduce to a minimum the possible negative forces.

The policy maker might ask himself the following questions, based on the factors found to enter most frequently into occupational decisions in a low-income area.

1. What would the respondent gain or lose from the proposed program?
2. Would the program incur the support or opposition of any strong value standards?
3. Would it incur the support or opposition of wives, close relations and/or neighbors?
4. What help or support does the program provide?
5. Is the respondent able to do what the program requires at this time and is provision made so he will be able to continue. Is he eligible and can he meet the requirements of the program?
6. Are there force factors with which he must comply if he is to gain his desired benefits from the program?
7. Are the opportunities provided, plentiful and easy to obtain and comply with, or few and difficult to obtain and comply with?
8. Are there any important persons in the situation who would exert strong expectations to participate or not to participate in the program?

These questions will alert the policy maker as to the probable relevant cluster of components engendered by his proposed program, and some of their probable influences. They will also enable him to see more clearly, what is missing in an existing program which is not functioning as desired.

Some Implications for Human Resource Adjustment Research

The data from this study supports the hypothesis that the multiple factor theory of social action provides a meaningful frame of reference for analyzing occupational change. The present study was largely exploratory in nature designed to determine the factors which enter into occupational decisions in a low-income area. Since it was an exploratory study, the open-end questions were appropriate to draw all factors which the respondent considered relevant. The findings present some implications for future research methodology and for further research problems.

The structured closed-end questions and the open-end responses asking for reasons present, with one or two exceptions, the same picture at the general level regarding the factors which enter into an occupational decision. However, the reasons given in the open-end responses, provide the explanatory power which makes it possible to differentiate among the different decisions. With the general array of possible reasons known, it would now be possible to construct closed-end questions at this level of specificity also. Knowing the main factors and reasons which enter into occupational decisions in a low-income area, it would be possible to formulate demographic questions which would provide more predictive power than those contained in the present study.

Whether the same factors and set of reasons, which help explain farm-nonfarm occupational decisions in a low-income area, would also explain other types of occupational decisions in high-income areas is not known. These data can only be generalized safely for the area in which the study was made, but it is highly probable that they would have fairly good explanatory power for occupational changes for farm operators in other low-income farming areas.

Based on the assumption of consistency between cognitive variables and data or demographic characteristics of the household, it would be useful to know the predictive and explanatory power which could be achieved by each of these sets of variables. The cognitive analysis made in this report provides information which helps in the selection of relevant demographic variables. While we have the date of the last major occupational decision which is being considered in this report, we do not have demographic data for the household for that same date and thus are not able to match the demographic variables of the household for that same time. This could be done in some future study.

The questions stimulated by the findings of this study, pose several possible further research studies on factors influencing occupational decisions. Among them are the following: What are the relevant cluster of factors which influence occupational decisions in other types of low-income areas such as in the coal region, in a boom and bust defense industry community, or in the low-income households of a high-income community? What are the clusters of factors which influence occupational decisions for middle-and high-income households, as compared with low-income households? Since occupational decisions are based on a cluster of factors, not single factors, households could be typed on the basis of their cluster of cognitive factors and on the basis of their demographic factors. The different types of households could be compared on the types of their occupational adjustments, also the cognitive and demographic typologies could be compared on the basis of their power to predict and explain various types of occupational adjustments.

In this study, the tenacity with which farm households hang on to their original occupation and remain in the same area in spite of economic adversity is observed and recorded in the data. We would hypothesize that the principle of consistency of cognitions with behavior provides a strong supporting rationalized defense of the occupation and place of residence which resist change. Part-time farming provides a way of adding a second occupation without giving up the first. After a dual attachment has been established, the first attachment can then be sacrificed if necessary. A thorough study of this attachment and detachment process, in relation to occupations and residence, should yield some useful results for policy makers.

This type of study based on reasons and weight of influence as perceived by the respondent provides many clues, leads, suggestions and supportive evidence. However, it cannot be claimed to have proved anything in definitive terms. Other types of studies would be necessary for this type of proof. On the other hand, the supportive evidence which it does provide in profusion is far better than hunches or guesses.

Appendix A

APPENDIX A

Objectives of the Overall Study

The objectives of the overall project were to determine for a given population of rural farm families in an area of northern New York State with different resource characteristics and levels of family income the following:

a. The nature and processes of socio-economic adjustment over the past decade in human and physical resource use and their basic causes;

b. The community, area, and economy-wide characteristics and developments which comprise the general socio-economic environment within which adjustments have evolved.

Stated more specifically, the objectives of the overall study were:

1. To develop the nature, processes, and causes of change in the various sizes and types of farm organization and land use.

2. To relate incidence of part-time and full-time commercial farming to patterns of occupational mobility between farm and nonfarm activities and level of agricultural and nonfarm economic activity of the economy.

3. To explore the relationship of different patterns of farm organization and land use to patterns of communication, rate of adoption of selected farm practices, and goals and values.

4. To develop a typology of part-time farmers based upon relative commitment to farm and nonfarm activity.

5. To develop a typology of part-time farm households based upon source of household income.

6. To compare present and base period social and economic characteristics of persons in the basic sample who have: (a) migrated from the area, (b) remained in the area as farmers, and (c) became nonfarm residents within the area.

The Sample

The sample for the study was drawn from the 20 percent sample for the 1950 U.S. Census of Agriculture for St. Lawrence County, New York. The 20 percent sample yielded the names of 1,017 individuals who were operating farms in St. Lawrence County in 1950. Limitations of funds, time, and personnel were such that the number of interviews could not exceed 350 in 1963. Consultations with demographers and human resource adjustment specialists indicated the advisability of limiting the respondents to those who were under age 55 in 1950.

Of the total 417 farm operators who were in the sample based on the 1950 Census of Agriculture, 32 had died and 8 could not be located (Table 1). Of the 377 remaining, only 27 or 6.9 percent had left the county. In other words, more than 9 out of 10 of the 1950 farm operators are trying to work out their adjustments within the area. Even though this is a county which is classified as an area of substantial and persistent unemployment by the Department of Labor, these farm operators are not moving to areas of greater opportunity. Of 320 farm operators who were engaged in farming in 1950 and who have remained in the area and for whom we have information, 234 or 73 percent were still engaged in farming on a full-time or part-time basis in 1962. In other words, of those who remain in the area, more than 7 out of 10 are still engaged in farming on a full-time or part-time basis.

Data for this special report were obtained from the responses of the male respondents who were living in the St. Lawrence County area during the summer of 1963 and who had either made or seriously considered a major change in occupation since 1950.

The Study Area

St. Lawrence County borders on the International Line between the United States and Canada. It is the largest county in New York State with over 41 percent of the land area being used for agricultural purposes. The northeast sector of the county has developed industrially with the building of two aluminum plants, an automobile manufacturing plant (components) and the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development area. However, except for this particular area, the bulk of the

Table 1. Distribution of 417 1950 Farm Operators Who Were under 55 Years of Age in 1950 by Availability for Interview and Farm-Nonfarm Classification, St. Lawrence County, New York, 1963.

Item	Number	Percent
No Interviews:		
Deceased	32	7.7
Moved out of St. Lawrence County area	26	6.2
Unable to locate	8	1.9
Not available for interview during the time that survey team was in the field	7	1.7
Refused to be interviewed	16	3.8
Total	89	21.3
Interviews:		
Not farming in 1950	4	1.0
Incomplete interview	4	1.0
Complete interviews	(320)	
Farming in 1962[1]	234	56.1
Not farming in 1962[2]	86	20.6
Total	328	78.7
Total Sample	417	100.0

[1] Includes 3 female farm operators.

[2] Includes 1 female who operated a farm in 1950.

remaining county remains primarily agricultural. One observer has noted that the St. Lawrence area is:

> Perhaps the most thoroughly underdeveloped area in New York State . . . for it is indeed an area in which the full potential in its natural and human resources has never been approached. In this sense, the area is one of the great frontiers of the state and the region. But it is particularly a frontier for American industrialization.[1]

The number of farms has declined (1950-59) from 5,091 to 3,426, while the average size of the farms has increased from 174 acres to 210 acres in the same period. At the same time, some 169,000 acres of farm lands have been taken out of farming. Nine out of ten of the 1950 farmers studied have remained in St. Lawrence County as of 1962. However, of those still living in the area, one-fourth are no longer farming. This indicates that these men are working out their adjustments to these changing conditions within the county itself. As a result, this county provides a good test area in which to measure attitudes of these former farmers toward the adaptations and decisions which they have had to make during the past twelve years (1950-62). Most importantly, for the purposes of this study, has been the attempt to determine what cognitions enter into a farmer's decision to make a change, or a decision not to make a change, and the decisions made after leaving farming as a full-time occupation.

Economic reasons are generally considered to be "the" reasons for many changes -- stated simply in terms of monetary loss or gain. This study provides additional insight into the rather complex factors involved in decision making in the change of occupations.

Notes on Procedure

The research instrument was administered to the respondents during the months of June, July, and August, 1963, by undergraduate and graduate students in the College of Agriculture, Cornell University.

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[1] Sidney C. Sufrin and Edward E. Palmer, The New St. Lawrence Frontier, A Survey of Economic Potential in the St. Lawrence Area of New York State, Syracuse University Press, 1957, p. 5.

The research instrument contained a series of questions designed to determine the factors taken into consideration when a decision was being made about their last major job change or if no change had been considered, a hypothetical job change was presented to the respondent. These questions are presented in Appendix A. As was indicated previously, this report is based on the responses of those individuals who had considered a major occupational change since 1950.

Appendix B

APPENDIX B

Section of Questionnaire Containing Items Designed to Determine Factors Influencing Occupational Decisions

D-II OCCUPATIONAL DECISION OR CHOICE

Let's see, you told me that:

1. In 19__ you changed the type of work you were doing from ____________ to __________________________.

2. You have thought of changing your type of work.
   a. When was the last time you thought about doing this? ____________
   b. What kind of a change in work were (are) you thinking of making? ______________________________

3. Since you have not seriously considered changing your occupation, we would like to get your reaction to the following question(s):

   a. Suppose some new nonfarm employment opportunities were to come into the area and you had a chance to take a steady, 40 hour a week job which you were able to do. This employment would pay you $1,000 more than you make now.

      ______ Would take the new job
      ______ Would stay with what I am now

   b. Suppose there were no good opportunities within the area but you had a chance to take a steady, 40 hour a week nonfarm job outside of this area. This would be a job you could do which would pay you $1,000 more than you make now if your moving costs were paid. Would you take the job and move to the new area or would you stay with what you are now doing.

      ______ Would accept the job and move
      ______ Would stay with what I am now

WRITE THE DECISION OR CHOICE FROM EITHER 1, 2, or 3A IN THE BLANK SPACE AT THE TOP OF THE NEXT TWO PAGES. THEN ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON PAGES 8d, 8e and 8f.

* * * * * * *

ESTIMATING WEIGHTS ON REASONS

Now that I have your important reasons for and against changing type of work, I need to know how much weight you put on each reason when you were making the final decision.

Which would you say was (is) the most important reason, either for or against, that you took into account in making the change? CIRCLE THE REASON WHICH IS SELECTED.

Let's say this reason, your most important reason, had a weight of 10 points. Now, if your most important reason had a weight of 10 points, what weight between 1 and 10 did you give to each of the other reasons for and against changing? If any reason carried no weight in the decision, give it zero.

FOR EACH ITEM BELOW TO WHICH THE RESPONDENT GIVES A WEIGHT OF 3 OR 4, ASK HIM WHAT SPECIFIC REASONS OR THINGS ARE INVOLVED. WRITE ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC REASONS IN THE APPROPRIATE LIST ON THE WORKING PAGE. NOTE THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION WHICH ELICITS THE ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC REASON(S).

Now, we would like you to answer several more questions concerning your reasons for deciding to change or not to change your type of work. Some of these questions may refer to reasons you have already given me, but these questions may also help you recall any specific reasons for or against changing which you have not yet recalled. Since these questions were designed to fit several hundred persons in different situations, some of them may not apply to you.

After each question which applies to you SOME or MUCH, please tell me any specific reason for or against changing which the question helps you to recall.

1) Action taken
2) Action considered but not taken
3) Hypothetical action chosen on 3a

____

I would like you to recall the important things you took (are taking) into account in deciding whether or not to make this change in work. Please give me your reasons both for and against changing at the time when you made the decision.

Reasons for and Against Changing Work At the Time When the Decision Was Made	Estimated Weight on Each of These Reasons in the Final Decision
A. Things favoring the change in work	
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
B. Things against the change in work	
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________
____ ____	____________

1) Action taken
2) Action considered but not taken
3) Hypothetical action chosen on 3b

____

	CIRCLE NUMBER WHICH APPLIES			
		"Yes"		
	No	Little	Some	Much
1. a) Did you feel any of your family members, friends, or others who matter expected you to make this change in work? How much did you feel they expected you to? Just who expected you to?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel any of your family members, friends, or others who matter expected you not to make this change in work? How much? Just who expected you not to?	1	2	3	4
2. a) Did you feel you had committed yourself to make this change in work by stating your intentions or making agreements with others? How much did you feel you had committed yourself? What specifically were these commitments and to whom?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel you had committed yourself not to make this change by stating your intentions or making agreements with others? How much? What commitments and to whom?	1	2	3	4
3. a) Did you feel you would receive support, encouragement, or help from family members, friends, or others if you decided to make this change? How much? What kinds of support and from whom?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel you would receive opposition or discouragement from family members, friends, or others if you decided to make this change? How much? What kinds and from whom?	1	2	3	4
c) Did you feel you would receive support from others if you decided not to change? How much? From whom?	1	2	3	4
d) Did you feel you would receive opposition from others if you decided not to change? How much? From whom?	1	2	3	4
4. a) Did you feel you or members of your family would gain in such things as income, security, or satisfaction by making this change? How much gain? What kinds of gains?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel you or members of your family would lose by making this change? How much? What kinds of losses?	1	2	3	4

HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS STOP HERE

	No	Little	Some	Much
5. a) Did you feel you had the abilities, skills, health, and resources needed to change to this new work? How much did you feel you had these abilities? What main kinds of abilities and resources?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel you had the abilities, skills, health, and resources needed to remain in the work you were in? How much did you feel you had the needed abilities or resources? Waht main kinds of abilities or resources?	1	2	3	4

		"Yes"		
	No	Little	Some	Much
5. c) Did you feel you personally lacked in any important abilities, skills, health, or resources needed to change to this new work? How much did you feel you lacked? What specifically did you feel you lacked?	1	2	3	4
d) Did you feel that you lacked any important abilities, skills, health, or resources needed to remain in the kind of work you were doing? How much did you feel you lacked? What specifically did you feel you lacked?	1	2	3	4
6. a) Did you feel you had an opportunity to make this change in work? How much of an opportunity did you feel you had?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel there would be opportunities to make this change at a later time if you so desired? How much opportunity to change did you feel there would be at a later time?	1	2	3	4
c) To what extent did you feel you might not get another opportunity such as this one?	1	2	3	4
d) Did you feel there was opportunity to remain in the work you were in? How much opportunity?	1	2	3	4
7. Did you feel the proposed change in work would be in conflict with any of your important habits or customs at that time? How much in conflict? Which habits or customs?	1	2	3	4
8. a) Did you feel the proposed change in work was in line with your beliefs and standards of what is right and good for a man to do? How much in line? What beliefs or standards?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel the proposed change in work was in conflict with your standards or what is right and good for a man to do? How much? What standards?	1	2	3	4
9. a) Did you feel you were being forced to change by others or by circumstances so that you had no choice but to change work? How much force? Who or what was forcing you to change?	1	2	3	4
b) Did you feel you were being forced by others or by circumstances to remain at the work you were in? How much force? Who or what was forcing you to stay at the work you were in?	1	2	3	4
10. a) How much confidence and certainty did you feel at the time that you would be doing the wisest thing by making this change?	1	2	3	4
b) How much confidence and certainty did you feel at the time that you would be doing the wisest thing by not making this change?	1	2	3	4

WAS WIFE PRESENT DURING THIS PART OF THE INTERVIEW? Yes ☐ No ☐

Appendix C

APPENDIX C

Selected Definitions

Referent

The term referent is used to designate any item which might be selected or on which attention might be focused. The item indicated as the referent may be a person, a group, an organization, an object, an idea, an activity, an act or a mode of behavior, an attitude, a symbol, a situation, or a state of affairs.

Actor

The term actor in this presentation is used to designate any individual or any collectivity capable of corporate action. This latter would include informal groups, communities, and small and large organizations.

Social Action

Social action refers to any learned form of social expression. As herein used, it refers primarily to the expression of opinions, sentiments, hypothetical action, and gross behavioral response. It includes social interaction, and role performance but is somewhat more inclusive than either of these. It includes actions related to non-human objects and symbolic referents. It does not include non-human behavior, nor does it include the natural non-learned behavior of human beings.

Opinions

Opinions are verbalized statements expressing an actor's purported cognitions and data regarding a referent.

Sentiments

Sentiments are an actor's expression of his feelings regarding a referent.

Hypothetical Action

Hypothetical action refers to an actor's verbalized statement of what he would or would not do _if_ presented with a particular situation or state of affairs.

Gross Behavioral Response

Gross behavioral response refers to the learned overt actions in which the actor participates in relation to a referent other than expressions of opinions, sentiments, and hypothetical action.

Cognition

A cognition is a person's belief or knowledge about a referent. It encompasses any belief or knowledge about the referent which the actor may possess.

Relevant Cluster of Cognitions

A relevant cluster of cognitions consists of those beliefs and knowledges about a referent which the actor thinks are important, that is, which make enough difference to be considered.

Component

The term component is used to designate a specific unit within any of the three relevant clusters. Generally it refers to a specific cognition. It may, however, refer to specific data variables such as age, sex or occupation.

Factor

The term factor is herein used to designate a general category of cognitions which share certain common characteristics which make it possible to consider them together.

Actor Consistency (Self-Consistency)

Consistency means that the overall weight and direction of influence for the three relevant clusters (data, cognitions and social actions), in relation to a particular referent will be generally the same for any particular actor. In the more specific context of participation (a particular type of social action) it means that the participation will be in the same general direction as the three relevant clusters. It does not mean that the relevant elements in the clusters will all have the same direction in their influence. Since this congruence of the three clusters is always as perceived by the actor, consistency could be described as self-consistency.

Societal Consistency

Societal consistency is the array of internally consistent patterns of expression provided by the society in relation to any particular referent from which an actor may choose his personal response patterns. The Guttman-type scale assumes such an array and demonstrates its existence in the society. Each choice possesses actor consistency and the array of choices has a definite scalable order in relation to each other.

The Cluster of Relevant Actions

The cluster of relevant social actions refers to any expressions of opinion, sentiments, hypothetical action, or gross behavioral response of the actor which he, the actor, considers as having an important relationship to the referent under consideration.

Data

Facts or purported facts about some referent. This does not include the interpretation or meaning of these facts. The latter would be cognitions based on the data.

A Reference Category

A reference category is a characteristic of a class of actors to which meanings may be attached. The meanings are ascribed to actors having the specified characteristic.

Information

Information as herein used is limited to observed or reputed facts about the past actions of the referent and to the hypothesized facts and possible future acts of the referent.

The Relevant Cluster of Data

Factors or purported facts which are considered to be important about a particular referent in a particular situation.

The definitions which follow are for the ten factors which were presented in the frame of reference. Three types of definitions are used. First, a descriptive statement; second, a designation of the dominant component or components in the relevant cluster of cognitions for that factor; third, a definition by formula to indicate the elements (components) of which the factor is usually composed. While this third type is admittedly rough, it provides a basis for an understanding of the relationship of the factors to each other. For this contribution to further understanding it has been included.

DEFINITIONS OF COGNITIVE FACTORS (TYPE OF COGNITIONS)

A. Pull-Factor Definitions

Descriptive Definition	Dominant Factor Definition	Minimal Cluster of Components
Belief Orientation A person's or a group's shared cognitions (ideas, knowledge) regarding the characteristics of a referent, its present or potential relationship to referents other than the actor and the actual and potential consequences of these relationships.	The relevant cluster of components of a belief orientation consists solely of B cognitions though there may be three, four, or even more of these.	B = Belief Orientation b_1 b_2 b_3
Goal A goal is any activity, object, characteristic, belief, feeling, state of affairs, or condition of living which is desired and wanted or not desired and to be avoided by the actor either for itself or as an instrumental means by which another goal may be pursued or avoided.	The dominant cognitions in the relevant cluster of components of a goal is a belief that the referent has an actual or potential, positive or negative relationship to the actor, to his way of life, or to his system of beliefs and that the referent has the potential power to produce satisfaction or dissatisfaction for the actor as a consequence.	G = Goal b_1 e_1 b_2 g_1 b_3 g_2
Value Standard Any belief, system of beliefs, attitude, behavior, characteristic, state of affairs, or condition of living which is perceived by the actor to be of such central importance that to do it, have it, or not to do it or not to have it is a basis upon which persons, organizations, objects, activities, or ideas are judged by the actor to be good or bad.	The dominant components in a value standard cluster are the actor's belief that the referent is of central importance to himself, his system of beliefs, or his way of life and that some very undesirable consequences would result from nonadherence to it. An actor's value standard may be general and shared by the society as a whole, it may be general for a sub-society or group, or it may be limited to the individual. It is the fact that it is used as a criteria of goodness or badness by the actor which makes it a value standard.	V = Value Standard b_1 e_1 b_2 e_2 b_3 e_3 g_1 v_1 g_2 v_2

DEFINITIONS OF COGNITIVE FACTORS (TYPE OF COGNITIONS)

B. Push-Factor Definitions

Descriptive Definition	Dominant Factor Definition	Minimal Cluster of Components
Expectation Expectation is an actor's cognition that significant others--individuals, groups, or society in general think that he or others should believe, feel, or act in a particular manner in a given situation. It also includes what the actor himself thinks he should believe, feel, and do in the situation.	The dominant component in the expectation cluster is the actor's belief that others think he should act in a particular manner.	E = Expectation b_1 e_1 b_2 e_2 b_3 e_3
Self-Commitment Self-commitment is the belief of an actor that either in the past or the present, he has taken a particular stand on the issue involved and that directly or indirectly he has given his word or implied it such that he now is bound to act in accordance with his indicated intention, even though his present preference might be to do something else were he now free to choose.	The dominant component in the self-commitment cluster is the actor's belief that his decision has already been indicated and that he is not really free to act otherwise. Another prominent component in the s.c. cluster is a value component that the actor will do what he has said he will do.	S.C. = Self-Commitment b_1 e_1 b_2 e_2 b_3 v_1 g_1 sc_1 g_2 sc_2
Force Force is the cognition on the part of the actor that he has no alternative but to act in a particular way even though his personal goals and wishes may be very much to the contrary. Alternatives may be present, but to the actor they may be so intolerable that he doesn't consider them as alternatives. He feels he must act, and that the only possible way to act is in the manner prescribed.	The dominant component in a force cluster is the actor's belief that he has no choice.	F = Force b_1 g_1 b_2 g_2 b_3 f_1 e_1 f_2

Descriptive Definition	Dominant Factor Definition	Minimal Cluster of Components
Habit and Custom Habit and custom is the cognition of the actor that a given set of stimuli call for a particular accepted established pattern of response. The response is so patterned and so completely accepted and rationalized that no other possible alternatives are even considered by the actor.	The dominant component in a habit cluster is the actor's cognition that the particular stimuli has a single appropriate response.	H = Habit and Custom b_1 h

DEFINITIONS OF COGNITIVE FACTORS (TYPE OF COGNITIONS)

C. Able-Factor Definitions

Descriptive Definition	Dominant Factor Definition	Minimal Cluster of Components
Opportunity Opportunity is the actor's beliefs regarding a situation, its requirements, and the alternatives which are available.	The dominant component in the opportunity cluster is the actor's conception that the alternate situations among which he may choose are each characterized by some essential requirements of greater or lesser magnitude.	O = Opportunity b_1 g_2 b_2 o_1 g_1 o_2
Ability Ability is the actor's perception of his own capacity to successfully cope with the alternative opportunities which he perceives.	The dominant component of the ability factor is that the actor perceives that some essential elements are necessary to cope with the situation under consideration and that he conceives of himself as possessing some of these essential elements and in possessing them being able to exert a large degree of control over them.	A = Ability b_1 o_1 b_2 o_2 g_1 a_1 g_2 a_2
Support Support is the kind and amount of help or opposition an actor believes he is receiving or which he believes he can expect from others for any alternative pattern of behavior which he might choose.	The dominant components in the support factor is that the actor perceives of himself as lacking some of the essential elements needed to cope with the alternative situations with which he is confronted. He furthermore conceives of others as helping by providing some of the essential elements or as hindering by changing the situation to make the situation more difficult. The latter is perceived as opposition.	S = Support b_1 o_1 b_2 o_2 g_1 a_1 g_2 a_2 e_1 s_1 sc_1 s_2

Appendix D

APPENDIX D

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*Studies based on the project - Directive Factors in Social Participation.

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